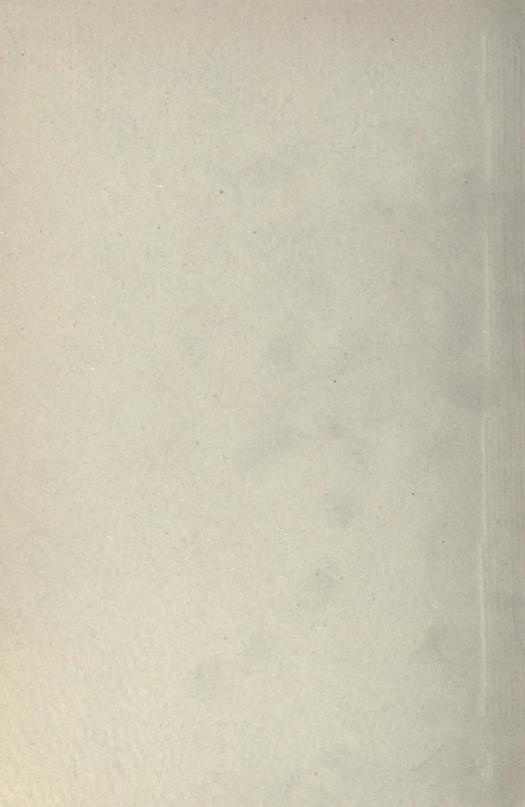
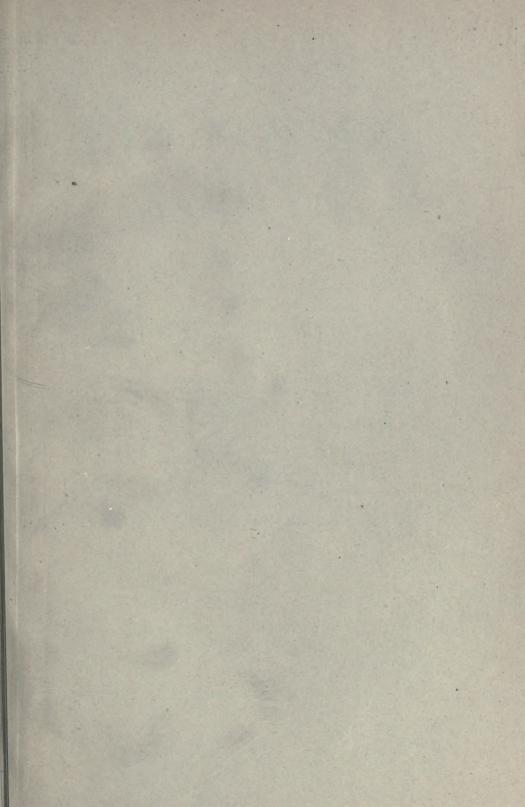
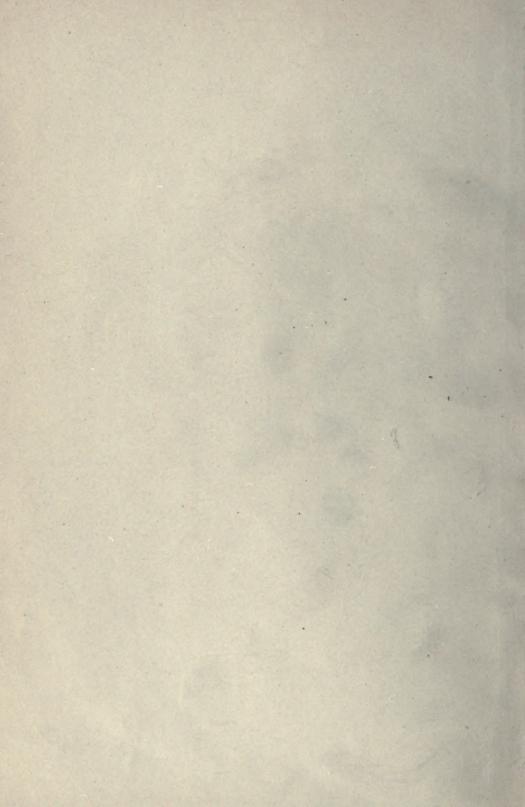
POLITICAL X-RAYS

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AN INTERNATIONALIST







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POLITICAL X-RAYS

BY

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

La Révolution française a formé, au-dessus de toutes les nationalités particulières, une patrie intellectuelle commune dont les hommes de toutes les nations ont pu devenir citoyens.

> L'Ancien Régime et La Révolution par Alexis de Tocqueville, Liv. I. Chap. III.

When Knaves and Fools combined o'er all prevail, When Justice halts and Right begins to fail, E'en then the boldest start from public sneers, Afraid of shame,—by satire kept in awe, And shrink from Ridicule though not from Law.

English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, 31-36.

Oh—that mine adversary had written a book.

Job. 31. 35.

PARIS

CHARLES EITEL
18 RUE DE RICHELIEU

1902

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This book is dedicated to those who believe with the writer that Equality before the Law is the one and only possible goal that mankind can and shall reach.

Equality which, without dwarfing in any way the scope of the individual powers, is the opposite of

MILITARISM,
IMPERIALISM,
PROTECTION
and kindred evils.

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The writer of this book will accept no money benefit from it.

Col. Roosevelt's Candidature.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The nomination of Theodore Roosevelt "for Governor" will mark the lowest depth of political degradation that the United States have thus far reached. Roosevelt, when a young man, tried as a legislator to vindicate his importance by making himself conspicuous. Then he associated with "cowboys" in order to acquire popularity with the rabble of the West. As a Police Commissioner he advocated the theory that true courage derives its surest inspiration from the sight of blood, and frequented all the prize fights.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy he did all in his power to force his country into an iniquitous war, in the hope of gaining some cheap military glory with which to dazzle the vulgar mind. As a soldier he ordered a charge of dismounted cavalry, armed only with pistols, upon well-defended intrenchments, an act which would have caused him to be shot in any army with the slightest pretension to military science. As an officer he inspired

a letter written by generals in face of the enemy, "asking to be taken home."

As a politician his speeches show what efforts he has made to flatter the credulous masses by appealing to their vanity.

Such is the man who seeks minor political honors before starting for the one coveted goal.

O fatal Presidential seat! Why did a people as fantastical as Americans struggle to separate themselves from their natural ruler, an insane king? It was done in the infancy of the nation, and one can find a reason in Goethe's dictum, "Youth is drunkenness without wine."

St. Malo, Sept. 26, 1898.

The New York Sun of Oct. 24, 1898, copied the greater part of this letter under this heading:

"One of the finest of the wandering American fools who illuminate the columns of Mr. James Gordon Bennett's Paris edition of the New York *Herald* furnishes his opinion of Theodore Roosevelt's career and character."

The Sun, with its usual sense of fairness, stopped, however, at the sentence that alludes to Mr. Roosevelt's Presidential aspirations, which subsequent events have done so much to confirm.

The Evening Post of Nov. 9, 1898, speaking of Quay's victory in Pennsylvania, adds: "Pennsylvania thus touches the lowest depth of polit-

ical degradation ever reached by a state in the Union."

Which proves that the *Evening Post* reads the *Sun*, even if it does not admit the fact.

Col. Roosevelt's Candidacy.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Col. Roosevelt's course in regard to his taxes is naturally a revelation.

But it is just to say that in the city of New York a "personal tax" of some 2·I per cent., when a revenue of 3·25 per cent. is all that can be obtained from taxable standard securities, is, after all, a practical confiscation and only another form of the misgovernment, or rather the want of government almost amounting to chaos, which prevails in the United States.

Col. Roosevelt has set himself up as a teacher of "the highest kind of citizenship," but his views in relation to his civic obligations, if practiced by all, would cause great confusion in the finances of the state, and can hardly be considered as another qualification for the office of governor. Yet, taken in connection with the much condemned action of the War Department, they may be said to furnish additional proof, if it were needed, of how little

there is of substance or truth in what is called American patriotism. Therefore, "ubi bene, ibi patria."

Nomad.

St. Malo, Sept. 28, 1898.

Critic of Governor Roosevelt.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Governor Roosevelt has called for May 22 an extra session of the legislature in order to amend a measure which by two special messages he himself forced through on the last day of the session, which ended on April 28 only.

The measure was so crude and communistic that it threatened property to the extent of \$200,000,000 with almost immediate confiscation. When will foreign investors realize how common it is in America to elect to office a demagogue who, thinking himself a "statesman," is, after all, only a bull in a china shop?

QUERIST.

Paris, May, 1899.

Waning Freedom in America.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Governor Roosevelt, in spite of what Senator Platt called his "demagogic" legislation, has been made a "Doctor of Laws" by Columbia University. The venerable institution has also permitted

the building of a gate in honor of the Santiago campaign. [A campaign which, in view of the skill on one side and the vigor on the other, may be compared to an attack of tramps upon a graveyard.]

It is one of the many signs of waning freedom in America that even its educational centres are being led to vie in sensationalism with the "yellow journals."

Observer.

Paris, June 20, 1899.

Presidential Arrangements.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald states that Mr. Roosevelt is willing to permit Mr. McKinley's re-election as President in 1900, and that Mr. McKinley will kindly consent to Mr. Roosevelt's election to the same office in 1904. Has Mr. Roosevelt selected his successor for 1912, or will he decide to "hold over?"

The Agricultural Department's report shows that the number of sheep in the United States has diminished; but such amiable political arrangements prove that, according to the last census, there are at least 70,000,000.

A VOTER.

Paris, July 2, 1899.

The American Hampden.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In view of the honors showered upon Mr. Roosevelt, it is strange that he has not been named the American rival of John Hampden, for he is the only known citizen of the United States who, by legal process, has forced the authorities to let him pay his taxes.

With a slight change of wording one can say of him, as Cervantes said of Don Quixote: "Before attempting to tax others he had learned to tax himself."

A STOCKHOLDER.

Paris, August 21, 1899.

He Wants to Know, You Know.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Governor Roosevelt, with his usual typewriting machine fluency, and speaking in a Republican city "that casts 80,000 fraudulent votes," has announced that a defeat of the Republican ticket will be a "moral disgrace."

The gentleman should follow Dr. Johnson's advice: "Clear your mind of cant."

In view of broken Porto Rican tariff promises and "sworn off" taxes, and with "166 schools of theology in the United States," religious America ought to have some difficulty to explain why the

country should elect Messrs. McKinley and Roosevelt as the exponents of its truth and citizenship.

QUERIST.

Paris, June 24, 1900.

Refused by the Evening Post of New York City.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

The Evening Post, in a recent article, affirms that Mr. Roosevelt tries to silence his opponents by the mere force of asseveration, forgetting that no other Governor, since Sancho Panza, has done so much to instruct his ignorant but docile people upon every known subject save that of "wire-pulling" for the next Presidency. It would be gratifying to hear the statesman preach on Archbishop Whately's proposed text: "Hang the law and the prophets!"

But reflection leads one to compare the political feverishness of our peripatetic warrior with the calm return to ordinary duty of the defender of Mafeking, and one insensibly quotes the phrase: "Words, these be women; deeds, these alone be men."

Observer.

Paris, July, 1900.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. Roosevelt, a short time before Mr. McKinley's death, said at a public meeting in Chicago— in what may be called an ante-Czolgosz speech—: "The trouble with the Spanish war was, that there was not war enough to go round."

It is possible that some of those who share Mr. Roosevelt's lingering regrets may not have read the description of Sedan given by the London Times: "Let your readers fancy masses of colored rags glued together with blood and brains, and pinned into strange shapes by fragments of bones. Let them conceive men's bodies without heads, legs without bodies, heaps of human entrails attached to red and blue cloth, and disembowelled corpses in uniform, bodies lying about in all attitudes, and skulls shattered, faces blown off, hips smashed, bones, flesh, and gay clothing all pounded together as if brayed in a mortar, extending for miles, not very thick in any one place, but recurring perpetually for weary hours; and then they cannot, with the most vivid imagination, come up to the sickening reality of that butchery."

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Paris, Dec. 15, 1901.

In Defence of Mr. McKinley.

To the Editor of the Herald:

At a time when Mr. McKinley and Mr. Alger are so severely attacked common justice demands attention to the following facts:

Last February when war was being urged the United States had only 112,000 muskets with which to arm new levies. These muskets were of the antiquated Springfield pattern, adapted to "black" powder. There was just ammunition enough for a "three hours' continuous fire" on the part of our men of war. And not one of these, even, that had or could have more than half its complement of men. In fact, a military organization did not exist.

Then it is well known in diplomatic circles that of seven demands made by the United States, Spain at once conceded six,* and, as to the seventh,

It is true that a meeting of the representatives of the six European Powers was held at the British Embassy on the after-

^{*} From the London Times, Febry. 12, 1902:

which regarded the retirement of the Spanish army from Cuba, that the Queen Regent gave her personal word that, if allowed sixty days, her troops should all be withdrawn from the island.

Such, however, was the overwhelming cry for war in the United States that clergymen were hissed who prayed for peace. A distinguished man, Prof. Norton, who opposed the war, was denounced as a traitor and menaced with the horsewhip, and President McKinley himself threatened by Senators with impeachment for withholding from one Thursday to the following Monday a message which foreshadowed war, although Gen. Lee insisted that the

noon of April 14 (1898). What gave rise to this fresh effort was the receipt of a Spanish memorandum to the American Government conceding every claim of the American Government respecting Cuba save one, and therefore, in theory, profoundly modifying the situation.

From the Evening Post, Febry. 13, 1902:

Every Ambassador at Washington knew of Señor Ber-Nabe's frank and conciliatory note. Not a member of that Congress with which the issues of peace and war then rested had been informed of its full significance. Mr. McKinley in the White House knew from Gen. Woodford's dispatches, which he never communicated, that the basis for a fair adjustment existed; the State Department also knew it. Not another citizen of the United States knew what ought to have been proclaimed from the housetops—that Spain had yielded at nearly every point.

delay was necessary in order to protect American lives in Cuba.

Naturally, therefore, Mr. McKinley and Mr. Alger had the right to conclude that war must come regardless of conditions and consequences, and they are not to be blamed or even criticized for not doing the impossible at the period when if ever, "Sævitque animis ignobile vulgus."

BITTER ANTI-REPUBLICAN.

Dinard, Sept. 17, 1898.

NATION RESPONSIBLE.

American People to Blame for Much That Has Happened.

To the Editor of the Herald:

While all must agree with the laudable and well expressed horror of the *Herald* over the miseries inflicted upon our troops in the Cuban campaign, yet the fact cannot be ignored that, as government is the weapon of common action, it is not the Executive, but the nation itself which is responsible for results that were the logical outcome of the conditions under which the war was undertaken; which conditions, not to cast a doubt upon the intelligence of the citizens of the United States, must have been known to them all. War is growth, a

fungus perhaps, but nevertheless growth and not creation.

It has taken twelve years to reach Khartoum, and it is as easy to build an ironclad by whistling as it is to establish a military organization, with its commissariat, transport service and medical department, by simply deciding to pay out several millions.

Therefore, despite the leader in to-day's *Herald*, it was not the individual, but "the chief servant of the State" who was forced to obey the voice of the people, in this case "trumpet-tongued." And it is the people alone that history will condemn with the censure:

"We call a nettle but a nettle, And the faults of fools but folly."

BITTER ANTI-REPUBLICAN.

Dinard, Sept. 23, 1898.

NOT MR. McKINLEY'S FAULT.

American Ignorance of Sanitation at the Bottom of the Miseries of the War.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald's persistence in striving to fasten upon President McKinley a personal responsibility for unnecessary miseries in the late war is equivalent to blaming a pilot when in a storm for not

remedying the structural defects of the ship he commands.

What, for instance, could have been expected from an improvised army—little more than a chaotic mass—in the matter of sanitary measures, when it is realized that the term conveys no meaning whatever to the American mind at large?

There are hundreds, almost thousands, of cities in the Union where, to show that the ethereal has not been neglected, there are in each from fifteen to twenty churches, but where there is not one yard of sewer pipe.

One can be sure that ignorance, like Puritanism, "will gradually disappear from the district where the drainage is improved," but to assert that a people abounding in energy and industry, yet lacking in experience and self-restraint, can suddenly transform itself into an army—the most complex of creations—is to claim to reverse the processes of nature.

Water cannot rise above its level, and, "Mr. Secretary, the Tombigbee River" still "runs down and not up."

BITTER ANTI-REPUBLICAN.

Dinard, Oct. 1, 1898.

The Land of the Free.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Postmaster-General, whose last speech was a series of fulsome utterances in reference to Mr. McKinley, has now closed the Manila mail to certain documents which criticise the President's policy.

A great authority once declared that the system in the United States was a "government of the people by the people for the people," but it is now evident that the "land of the free" has become, to use Katkoff's words, "Un cadavre en décomposition."

May 5, 1899.

Sultan of America.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Postmaster-General Smith's decision to exclude from the Manila mail pamphlets criticising the President's policy is only equalled by the action of a Sultan of Turkey, who, on receiving a letter he did not like, gave an order to abolish all the post-offices.

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

Paris, May 6, 1899.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Whatever may be said of Mr. Croker's political methods, there can be no doubt as to his

sagacity in opposing a policy which has plunged the country into an interminable war, and loaded the people with taxes, in order to re-elect Mr. McKinley in 1900.

Mr. Roosevelt was made governor because of the Santiago campaign. * * * * But the time has come for the nation to ignore successful speculators and vituperative politicians, and show the world that, in the United States at least, it is no longer possible to "wade through slaughter to a throne."

An Irishman.

Paris, August 15, 1899.

Dies or Is An Idiot.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Republicans who credit "McKinleyism" with a prosperity that was due to the fact of a short crop of wheat in Europe and a superabundant one in the United States must have had typhoid fever, "which," remarked the genial but blundering Maréchal McMahon to a friend ill with it, "is a most dangerous disease. For," said he, "I have had it myself, and one either dies of it or is left an idiot."

A JEFFERSONIAN.

Paris, July 3, 1900.

McKinley the Chinaman.

To the Editor of the Herald:

John M. Tobin, at first a ticket collector at the Staten Island ferry, was, after he had become a successful Wall street speculator, frequently requested by the reporters of the day to communicate his views as to architecture, theology, etc. And now the *Herald* is getting up interviews on bimetallism with Mr. Jas. R. Keene!

But if all valuable opinions are to be put on record, why not quote the French editor who recently said that "the Americans had shown an intelligent disregard of their Constitution in electing as President a naturalized citizen, one McKinley, born in Canton, China?"

A BULL ON AMERICAN SECURITIES. Paris, July 27, 1900.

How It Looks to a Foreign Observer.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Your leader in the Evening Post of April 4, which deals with Mr. McKinley's methods, is in line with three articles that, in 1898, appeared in the London Times from its correspondent in Spain, and which revealed the sinuous course of the United States at the beginning of the Spanish

war. As there are a few Americans deluded enough to believe that common honesty is still the guiding principle of American politics, a detailed reference to these articles may be spared, but, in support of the Evening Post's criticisms, it may be well to repeat the scarcely veiled estimate of Mr. McKinley as given in the final article, namely, that nature had intended him for a horse-trader. that chance had made him a politician, and that the future alone would show if he possessed anything of the statesman. The condition of the Philippines and of Porto Rico answers the unsettled question, and adds force to the dictum of Junius: that it is the historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. OBSERVER.

France, April 16, 1900.

An Addition to Dean Swift's List.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

SIR: Dean Swift wrote: "As universal a practice as lying is, and as easy a one as it seems, I do not remember to have heard three good lies in all my conversation, even from those who were most celebrated in that faculty."

Had the discriminating Dean been able to contrast Mr. McKinley's words last December,

"It is our plain duty to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico," with the same President's admitted action in forcing through Congress later on a Porto Rican tariff bill, he could have added to his small list a number three, which, for audacity and cold-bloodedness, should easily have surpassed the other two. And he might have suggested, as number four, the following motto for use by the Republicans in their coming political campaign: "Nil super imperio moveor."

Paris, 1900.

Mr. McKinley's Vacillating Policy.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The leader in to-day's Herald recalls the fact that when Mr. McKinley allowed it to be intimated —what, it seems, never happened—that Spain had asked for the recall of a United States Consul-General, Congress, in order to pander to popular fury, immediately placed fifty millions at his disposal, and even the respectable Mr. Reed descended to the "floor" to take part in what was probably the most flagrant act of pusillanimity ever performed by a legislative body.

Now that China attacks the American Minister, virtually imprisons him and kills American marines engaged in defending him, Mr. McKinley, in obedience to electioneering motives, calmly accepts the fact.

The only possible criticism of his policy is that conveyed in the speech of the English alderman, who astonished an after-dinner company by informing them that he was like Cæsar's wife—all things to all men.

A German.

Paris, Sept. 27, 1900.

A German Idea of Things in General.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald* evidently gets its ideas of Anglo-Saxon unity from the *Times* whose columns are now full of "engineered" affection for the "American Cousin."

But Black and White thus reflects British sentiment: "How ridiculous the spreadeagle imperialism of Mr. McKinley has proved to be in actual practice. No governing race in the history of the world has made itself so detestable to the Cuban and the Filipino as the American, and no third-class power so impotent to back its pretensions."

The pitiable result of your Spanish war would prevent any self-respecting government from adopting a policy identical with your own.

You comment so freely upon the rulers of other nations that one can reply that your own men in power are neither statesmen nor pirates, for they went into a war where there was nothing to accomplish except substituting one system of misgovernment for another, and they made a conquest where there was not enough to seize to tempt even England.

Your not over-modest assertions of your national prowess would lead the historian to apply to your country Bismarck's description of Lord Salisbury—"A lath of wood painted to represent iron."

Another German.

Paris, Sept. 29, 1900.

Sent to the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Time has passed and brought no explanation of President Schurman's telegram to Mr. McKinley: "Go up higher."

A similar obscurity of expression (occured where a physician informed an agonized husband

that his wife was so ill that there was nothing to do but to send her to a warmer place. The poor man, in tears, rushed from the room but immediately returned with a huge carving knife, saying, "Here doctor; you do it, I couldn't."

OBSERVER.

Paris, March, 1901.

From the Herald:

Extract from Mr. McKinley's "Inaugural Address," March 4, 1901:

The President * * proceeded to speak of his fruitless efforts to avert the war with Spain.*

. Criticises Mr. McKinley.

To the Editor of the Herald:

So Mr. McKinley cound "not avert the war with Spain." One must go to fable to find a similar case of such deplorable impotency.

* From the London Times, Febry. 17, 1902:

The Evening Post says: General Woodford's "hopeful, appealing despatch to the President" was suppressed for three years. Not till it was finally allowed to see the light was it possible to appreciate the situation in April, 1898, on the eye of the war.

A lion, who had been ill, asked a sheep if his breath was bad. The sheep said, Yes, and the lion bit off his head for a fool. A wolf, asked the same thing, replied, No. Him the lion killed for being a liar. A fox, in answer to the question, said, He had a cold in his head and could not smell.

Such a Presidential statement is only possible in a land of "twenty-seven millions of Church members", and is proof that Ananias and Sapphira have, as Gladstone said of Jeff. Davis, "founded a nation."

Paris, March 7, 1901.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Now that the Spanish war is entering into the domain of history, and the chapter of what may be called national suicide is about to close, it would be well to consider the establishment of some great object which should commemorate an event so momentous in the career of a people.

It is natural to think first of some imposing expression of public sentiment like the well known Germania on the banks of the Rhine. This, however, would not do. For had we a tower as

heaven-reaching as that of Babel we could not adorn it with the figure of the Anglo-Saxon holding high his honor, since some Sir Oracle such as Goldwin Smith would trumpet forth that "the United States have beaten a cripple and England has beaten a child," and dispel the illusion.

Mercy and Truth would also be out of place. For although the United States by means of false promises accomplished the unwilling cession of the Philippines, and although the Missionary Congress in New York City resolved "to provide for the spiritual welfare of those 12,000,000 of heathen who in the Providence of God have been thrust upon the care of Christian America," still an armed force has not yet succeeded in dotting the islands all over with Sunday-schools, and the "Providence of God" is only another name for a twenty-million dollar cheque.

But nil desperandum de republica, and the Americans are a practical people.

It is in order, therefore, for Postmaster-General Smith, prone to adulation, and for Mr. Secretary Long, given to palliation, to head a subscription for the purpose of erecting, after the manner of the eastern despot, a pyramid of Filipino skulls upon whose apex might be placed the statue of the man they venerate and serve.

There it would remain immutable through the ages, for ambition itself would scorn such eminence.

And the grinning evidences of his misrule would perpetuate with all the majesty of silence the prominence of one who "in order to be famous was well content to be infamous."

OBSERVER.

Pine Hill, Aug. 20, 1901.

THE SPANISH WAR.

The following article from the *Figaro* of April 23, 1898, is given in full, as it bears internal evidence of being Mr. McKinley's personal explanation to Europe—through the United States Embassy at Paris—of the causes that led to the Spanish War:

L'Opinion d'un Américain.

Dans le conflit si profondément regrettable qui vient de surgir entre l'Espagne et les Etats-Unis, nos sympathies ont toujours été et resteront toujours pour l'Espagne, ce valeureux et malheureux pays qui a pour lui le droit positif; qui, en outre, n'est pas l'aggresseur, et auquel nous rattachent, comme à toutes les races latines, tant de communautés d'idées, de souvenirs et de sentiments. Mais nous ne saurions contester que les Etats-Unis forment un grand peuple qui a prouvé maintes fois à la France ses sympathies; aussi considéronsnous comme un devoir envers nos lecteurs de donner aujourd'hui la parole à l'un de leurs hommes d'Etat les plus considérables, qui demande à ex-

THE SPANISH WAR

pliquer, ici, l'attitude de ses concitoyens devant le public français.

La guerre avec l'Espagne est malheureusement devenue inévitable et, il faut l'avouer, on accuse généralement en Europe les États-Unis de l'avoir provoquée dans un but égoïste. Même en France, les sympathies vont à l'Espagne. Il faut croire que nous ne possédons pas l'art de nous rendre sympathiques ni d'embellir nos actes; nous sommes, dit-on souvent, un peuple trop positif. Je vous suis donc, monsieur le Directeur, fort reconnaissant de me permettre de profiter de la très grande publicité du Figaro pour essayer de rétablir la vérité. Audiatur et altera pars. Je vais essayer, en faisant un récit sobre et exact des événements, de démontrer comment la fière et illustre nation espagnole est arrivée par sa mauvaise direction des affaires de Cuba à créer une situation intolérable pour les Etats-Unis.

On peut dire que, depuis trente ans, la situation de Cuba est absolument anormale. En 1868, la première grande insurrection éclata et dura pendant dix ans avant que l'Espagne pût la réprimer. La guerre civile, à cette époque, ne fut pas conduite aussi cruellement que maintenant et la répression ne fut pas aussi sévère. Cependant un assez

grand nombre d'individus, parmi lesquels des sujets américains, furent passés par les armes sous prétexte de filibusterie. Le gouvernement des Etats-Unis, que présidait alors le général Grant, n'intervint en aucune façon dans cette longue guerre, qui cependant lésait considérablement les intérêts commerciaux de ses nationaux.

Après cette première insurrection, il y eut à Cuba plusieurs soulèvements de moindre importance. Les Cubains ne supportaient que très difficilement la domination de l'Espagne. Cette dernière les accablait d'impôts et confiait l'administration de l'île à des fonctionnaires espagnols qui ne connaissaient pas le pays et l'administraient très mal. Les Cubains étaient exclus de tout emploi dans leur pays et privés de leurs droits politiques. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que leur exaspération ait fini par amener la révolte générale de 1895.

La guerre civile éclata; elle a été faite des deux côtés avec un acharnement et une cruauté sans exemple jusqu'ici; elle dure depuis trois ans et rien ne fait prévoir le moment où elle prendra fin. L'Espagne a envoyé à Cuba 200,000 hommes parfaitement armés, ainsi que ses meilleurs officiers. Les insurgés, de leur côté, n'ont jamais réussi à opposer à cette armée formidable plus de 27,000

combattants dépourvus de cavalerie et de canons à tir rapide. Cependant ils luttent toujours et les Espagnols n'arrivent pas à pacifier l'île. N'est-ce pas étrange? Ce fait incompréhensible ne permetil pas toutes sortes de suppositions, celle, entre autres, que le gouvernement de Madrid n'avait pas entièrement dans ses mains le contrôle de la façon dont a été conduite cette guerre qui a ruiné les finances espagnoles?

On se plaît à dire en Europe que la durée de l'insurrection est due en grande partie à l'appui que les insurgés ont trouvé aux Etats-Unis. Je vais m'expliquer aussi franchement et aussi nettement que possible sur ce point capital.

Il est certain que nous sympathisons avec les Cubains, que nous admirons leur courage et que nous compatissons à leurs souffrances. Nous avons de tout temps fait avec Cuba un commerce considérable et les capitaux américains sont largement employés dans l'île. Les Cubains ont toujours entretenu avec nous de très amicales relations et beaucoup d'entre eux sont venus passer chez nous une partie de l'année, Cuba n'étant séparée des Etats-Unis que par une petite distance.

Un nombre considérable de Cubains se sont mariés chez nous et ont obtenu la naturalisation

américaine. Toutes ces circonstances devaient naturellement créer un courant de sympathie entre les deux peuples. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que les souffrances des Cubains aient causé une pénible impression aux Etats-Unis et qu'on y souhaite vivement la fin de la triste situation qui désole Cuba. Cependant le gouvernement de Washington n'a jamais cessé de remplir ses devoirs internationaux vis-à-vis de l'Espagne. Il n'a rien à se reprocher à ce sujet.

Il existe entre les Etats-Unis et l'Espagne un traité d'après lequel nous sommes tenus d'arrêter les expéditions de filibustiers armés se rendant au secours des insurgés cubains. Notre gouvernement est allé plus loin encore; il a arrêté des navires à bord desquels nos croiseurs ont trouvé des hommes sans armes mais qui, évidemment, tentaient de se rendre à Cuba; il a fait saisir des navires qui contenaient des munitions et des armes et qui étaient supposés avoir la même destination. Cette surveillance de notre côte, longue de 2,000 milles, nous a été très onéreuse; nous avons cependant réussi à arrêter toutes les expéditions filibustières parties des Etats-Unis, sauf trois ou quatre de peu d'importance qui ont réussi à tromper notre surveillance et à débarquer à Cuba. Pourquoi, du reste, les Espagnols, qui ont de nombreux navires dans les

eaux cubaines, n'ont-ils pas empêche eux-mêmes les filibustiers de débarquer?

En dehors de la surveillance des côtes, qui nous a coûté au moins cinq millions de francs par an. nous avons eu à payer les frais des quarantaines qu'il nous a fallu établir le long de nos côtes afin de prévenir l'importation aux Etats-Unis des maladies qui sévissent à Cuba depuis que le gouvernement espagnol a donné l'ordre de masser dans les villes de l'île les reconcentrados, dans le but d'empêcher les insurgés de se recruter parmi eux. De cette façon a été créée une promiscuité épouvantable entre des hommes, des femmes et des enfants affamés, presque nus, et des soldats espagnols, ce qui a provoqué d'affreuses maladies. La malheureuse population cubaine, naguère composée de 1,700,000 âmes, s'est vue diminuer, en peu de temps, d'un quart par l'émigration, la guerre et les maladies. Il a fallu, à tout prix, empêcher les maladies contagieuses de pénétrer dans le continent américain, et voilà pourquoi, entre la Floride et le Texas, nous devons entretenir, le long de nos côtes, des quarantaines très onéreuses. Nous avons, en outre, à plusieurs reprises, envoyé des secours en argent et en nature à Cuba. C'est ainsi que 100,000 dollars ont été envoyés d'un seul coup par notre gouvernement et distribués aux

infortunés Cubains par nos consuls. Cependant la misère persiste et augmente constamment.

Joignez à cela les pertes très considérables subies par mes compatriotes par suite de l'anéantissement de leur commerce et la ruine de leurs propriétés à Cuba, et vous comprendez que le désir soit unanime aux Etats-Unis de voir se terminer une guerre civile si désastreuse.

Cependant, à ce désir ne s'ajoute aucune velléité de conquête ou d'annexion, du moins chez la grande majorité des sujets des Etats-Unis. Je prétends hardiment qu'il n'y a pas 150/0 de ceux-ci qui souhaitent l'annexion de Cuba. Vous avez vu que le Congrès de Washington, la plus haute autorité politique de notre pays, vient de voter une résolution d'après laquelle les Etats-Unis repoussent toute intention d'annexer Cuba et affirment leur détermination, lorsque la pacification sera accomplie, de laisser le gouvernement et le contrôle de l'île à son peuple.

C'est cette pacification que nous voulons. Il faut que la guerre qui depuis des années se fait à nos portes cesse, comme l'a dit M. MacKinley. C'est pour nous une question d'humanité, et aussi de tranquillité. Est-ce qu'en Europe une grande puissance aurait supporté si longtemps dans son voisinage une conflagration et un foyer de troubles,

mettant les populations dans un état de surexcitation constante, préjudiciable au commerce, nuisible à d'autres intérêts encore?

J'ose dire que non.

Il est possible que les Etats-Unis n'auraient pas été conduits à cette extrémité et qu'ils auraient pu s'entendre avec l'Espagne sur sa manière de mettre fin à l'intolérable situation à Cuba, si deux faits ne s'étaient produits ces derniers temps qui ont mis le comble à l'exaspération de mes compatriotes. Je parlerai d'abord de la malencontreuse lettre, interceptée à Cuba, de M. Dupuy de Lôme, ministre d'Espagne à Washington, adressée à un de ses amis et dans laquelle ce diplomate appelait M. Mac Kinley, notre Président, "a common politician," et insinuait très clairement que l'autonomie offerte par l'Espagne aux Cubains n'était pas une mesure sérieuse.

Ensuite est venue l'affaire de l'explosion du Maine, envoyé en mission amicale à La Havane, à la suite de négociations avec le gouvernement de Madrid, lequel, de son côté, avait décidé d'envoyer un navire de guerre à New-York. Eh bien! le rapport officiel de nos marins a prouvé que c'est une mine sous-marine qui a causé l'explosion du Maine. Nous n'accusons pas les autorités espagnoles d'avoir provoqué ce malheur, mais nous

avons le droit de dire que l'Espagne s'est montrée incapable de faire la police dans un port qui lui appartient, et qu'elle doit assumer la responsabilité de la mort de plus de deux cent cinquante marins dont notre pays tout entier porte le deuil.

Mr. MacKinley n'a demandé aucune indemnité à l'Espagne pour cette catastrophe, pas plus que notre Congrès ne réclamera la possession de l'île de Cuba en compensation des sacrifices considérables que la guerre va nous coûter. Pourquoi alors l'Europe nous juge-t-elle si sévèrement?

Pourquoi ne veut-on pas croire que nous puissions faire la guerre dans un but humanitaire et dans le dessein de rendre la tranquillité à notre pays où la guerre est, par principe, abhorrée et où l'on ne cherche que des progrès pacifiques?

Est-ce trop de demander un peu de crédit jusqu'à ce que ceux qui nous condamnent aujourd'hui soient en état de nous juger plus équitablement? Enfin, les Français ont-ils oublié qu'il y a un siècle ils sont venus eux-mêmes au secours de notre nation naissante et que, sans autre mobile que d'assurer notre liberté et notre

indépendance, ils ont généreusement versé leur sang et leur or?

C'est exactement ce que nous voulons faire aujourd'hui pour les Cubains.

UN AMERICAIN.

To the Figaro of April 29, 1898.

Monsieur: Il appartient aux Américains qui réfléchissent et qui observent de relever certaines insinuations répandues par quelques-uns de leurs compatriotes malintentionnés.

D'après ces derniers, nous reprochons à l'Espagne son incurie dans les affaires d'une province éloignée d'elle de cinq mille kilomètres, tandis que cette incurie ne se rapproche en rien de celle qui existe chez nous, dans notre propre pays. Il y a dans l'Union nombre d'Etats qui sont au pouvoir et à la merci de politiques sans vergogne, d'autres qui sont régentés non par des "sans-culottes," mais par des "sans-chaussettes."

Quant au reproche de barbarie, que nous faisons à l'Espagne, c'est un joli mot dans la bouche de mes compatriotes qui ont vu exterminer par l'incurie pure et simple de notre gouvernement, et vraiment à petit feu, près de cinq millions d'Indiens, et qui, en 1886, ont

encore vu laisser chasser par les chemineaux cent mille pauvres Chinois abandonnés, sans grâce, à toutes les privations. Ah non! Au point de vue du progrès humanitaire, l'Espagne cloche, il est vrai, mais nous, nous marchons sans jambes!

Mais on ne sait pas assez comment la guerre est devenue inévitable. C'est de l'histoire acquise que le rédacteur d'un journal de la ville de New-York, voulant augmenter les abonnements, envoya à Cuba, il y a dix-huit mois, un écrivain distingué et un peintre bien connu, pour écrire et illustrer des articles de journaux, afin d'exciter une certaine curiosité à propos des faits qui se passaient dans cette île; lesquels faits, énormément éxagérés, étaient d'ailleurs inévitables dans une insurrection qui avait été, en plus, alimentée par les expéditions filibustières américaines.

Ces articles à sensation parvinrent à créer une telle fureur de haine envers l'Espagne, qu'elle s'est, à la longue, répandue partout et a fini par "emballer" les Etats Unis eux-mêmes, à un tel point que, maintenant, dans les églises et dans les réunions prétendues religieuses, les pasteurs, les femmes et les enfants prient Dieu d'envoyer la guerre quand même.

Vinrent, en outre, les syndicats qui ont acheté

les titres et les terrains cubains à vil prix, et dont les membres ne contribuèrent pas médiocrement à entretenir l'agitation et à demander la guerre.

Tous les arguments invoqués par mes compatriotes ne feront donc pas que cette guerre ne soit infâme. Et c'est le cas de se rappeler ce qu'a dit Frédéric le Grand, à propos de la reine Marie-Thérèse, lors du second partage de la Pologne: "Elle pleure, et prend toujours."

Un citoyen et non pas "sujet" des Etats-Unis.

Dinard, 23 avril, 1898.

An Outsider's Opinion.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Having just returned from the States and finding your columns full of recriminations in regard to the situation there, a few words from an outsider may not be amiss.

Von Humboldt long ago claimed that the Caucasian race, if left to itself in America, would, in the course of time, revert to the original physical and mental conditions of the savage.

The long legs and high cheek bones of the so called "Yankee" bear out one part of his assertion, but the mental qualities have reappeared

sooner than even he could have imagined; witness the impending war with Spain, a war without a motive or a justification,* and undertaken solely to "feed fat" the fires of speculation.

But while the Americans are thus virtually pouncing upon a bed-ridden patient, let them look well to themselves, for in no other country does there exist such a state of demoralisation as in theirs.

In New York, ruled by Mr. Croker, the "personal tax" on certain classes of securities is 2.1 per cent., or seventy per cent. of the income,

* From the London Times, Febry. 13, 1902:

Dr. von Holleben subsequently sent home the original text of the draft of the Collective Note which had been submitted by the English representative to the others. "The memorandum of the Spanish Minister delivered on Sunday appears to me and my colleagues to remove all legitimate cause of war. If that view should be shared by the Great Powers, the time has arrived to remove the erroneous impression which prevails that the armed intervention of the United States in Cuba commands, in the words of the Message, the support and approval of the civilized world. It is suggested by the foreign representatives that this might be done by a collective expression from the Great Powers of the hope that the United States Government will give a favourable consideration to the memorandum of the Spanish Minister of the 10th inst, as offering a reasonable basis of amicable solution and removing any grounds for hostile intervention which may have previously existed."

and one walks out of the tax office a pauper or a perjurer.

In Boston, type of a well-ordered American city, the streets after eleven o'clock in the evening, even in the heart of the town, are so infested by footpads that one reaches home with the satirist's prayer on his lips:

Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.

As to the South and South-West, all the world knows of the killing by burning, in the presence of 5,000 souls, of two innocent red-skins. Amiable ceremony, "conducted with prayer" by a parson.

As to the West, as represented by Chicago, it is simply Milton's:

And in the lowest deep, a lower deep.

To the foreign observer, therefore, there is only one conclusion: namely, that the United States, as a nation, has sunk below the level even of a South American republic. Also, that Europe need not fear any sustained effort on the part of this people, composed, as it is, of elements so heterogeneous that its disintegration is only a question of time.

An Englishman.

Dinard, April, 1898.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The letter of Mr. Bryce in to-day's Herald is evidently "inspired," for no one, certainly, can be ignorant of the fact that the Secretary of the Interior was called upon to prevent a rising of the Cherokees, justly angered by the murder of their fellow tribesmen.

In addition to these two States of New York and Pennsylvania, it is known and admitted that, what with silver agitation, sugar trust, and Cuban bonds, the American Congress is so steeped in jobbery that—to paraphrase the words of Christopher North—an honest man would not shake hands with certain Senators and Representatives of the United States for all the gold their itching palms have purloined.

Mr. Bryce compares the United States to Rome; it is to be regretted that, in point of corruption and dismemberment, the United States should seem to be beginning where Rome ended.

An Englishman.

Dinard, April, 1898.

To the Editor of the Herald:

With the disappearance of 500,000 Southerners, killed in the war of secession, the United States

lost the better part of its Anglo-Saxon element. What was left was a people of low commercial instinct, and so entirely given up to "money grubbing" that most of the large fortunes that exist to-day in the United States have been made by means of legislative corruption. To quote Molière:—L'on ne devient guère si riche à être honnêtes gens.

And the coming war will reveal such an absence of political morality on the part of the people, that the world in general must conclude that what was once considered a branch of the English-speaking family is now only a conglomeration of the dregs of European countries.

An Englishman.

Dinard, April, 1898.

What Does the Writer Want?

To the Editor of the Herald:

A British statesman once said that there was a "Providence for drunken men, babies, and the United States."

But of all the extraordinary actions of this extraordinary people, its course in regard to the Philippines is assuredly the most baffling.

Having destroyed 500,000 Southerners and reduced a number of once flourishing states to what they are to-day, namely, a territorial blot: having sacrificed a million of its own soldiers and spent billions of the dollars it loves so well, and all to abolish slavery within its own limits; having eradicated by processes les drastic but more tenacious than those of war some 5,000,000 redskins, and delivered over great masses of suffering Chinamen to the relentless fury of murderous ruffians, the country now proposes to pay for the control of countless hordes of "Thugs" sunk in political bondage so absolute that, to quote from Mr. Kidd's recent work, "It is hopeless to expect the tropical negroes to develop into communities capable of self-government and expansion along the lines of Western civilization."

As Disraeli said of Cardinal Newman—the United States have been apologized for, but never explained—yet, as the Scotch element, from President McKinley down, is the predominating one in all that pertains to American guidance and energy, a partial reason for the desire to enlarge the nation's area of action may be found in Voltaire's witty epigram:

"Si l'époux d'Eve la féconde, Au pays d'Ecosse était né,

A demeurer chez lui Dieu l'aurait condamné Et non pas à courir le monde,"

OBSERVER.

Biebrich, November 8, 1898.

Our Methods and Gen. Weyler's.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: War was declared against Spain because of General Weyler's methods, but it is hard to see in what way the present methods differ from his.

Weyler tried to starve a people into subjection, but the United States are "shooting to pieces with Gatling guns" human beings so feeble that General Merritt described them as "children".

We have evidently gone back to the time, of which Michelet speaks, when a French Bishop having taken a city with 20,000 prisoners, and asked if the Catholics should be spared, ordered: "Kill them all, God will recognize his own."

OBSERVER.

Paris, 1900.

Did Cubans Blow up the Maine?

To the Editor of the Herald:

The high sounding references to justice and humanity on July 4, in Berlin and Paris, have a sin-

ister significance in view of the fact* that it is an open secret in naval and political circles in Washington that "President McKinley knew, on satisfactory evidence furnished by Spain, that the Maine was blown up by the insurgents, and yet declared war"—a war that Goldwin Smith, in the "Contemporary Review" for May, asserts was, on the part of Spain, "in defence of the honor and independence of nations."

Despite the heading to its letter column, the Herald will probably not print this, as it might offend many readers of a Republic which, more than any other nation, can claim as its ancestors those who said, "prophesy unto us pleasant things."

Observer.

Paris, July 6, 1899.

From the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Your publication of a recent letter signed "Observer" must have been extremely gratifying to him. "Observer" only exploited his ignorance of America and its Chief Executive, and has

^{*} Communicated to the writer by a well-known Republican, who said it had been told him at the Union League Club, in New York City, by a naval officer of high rank.

learned, for the trouble taken, that the *Herald* can print such rot at any time, if it so desires, and with utmost impunity. Any further information desired can be secured by "Observer" through inserting an "ad." in the *Herald's* want column. It is one thing to observe, another to do so thoughtfully.

Washingtonian.

Paris, July 20, 1899.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Even the *Herald's* marvellous "ads." and "wants" cannot always give information, otherwise they would have been used in the various bribery investigations that followed the telegram, "God rules and the Republican party still lives." "Washingtonian's" choice of words makes it plain why he is ignorant of historical events taking place in a Capital whose population consists so largely of needy politicians and newly-enriched tradespeople.

Observer.

Paris, July, 1899.

From the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In the issue of the 23d, you were most courteous in heading "Me and Platt's" letter, "He has a

fool for a friend, or vice-versa," for according to the letter both friends should be included. * * *

After this burst of egotism, he proceeds to dare the *Herald* to publish it, by the statement, "Big odds that you don't publish this," which is about the same plan recently adopted by "Observer," who seemed to fear that some idiotic ideas in which he finds great satisfaction would be denied a space.

Those desiring to take advantage of the privileges of the correspondent's column should understand that the *Herald* has nothing greater to regret in publishing letters such as "Me and Platt's", and "Observer's" than loss of space, and nothing to fear from their ready imaginations and pens.

London.

July 24, 1899.

To the Editor of the Herald:

If, as Herbert Spencer asserts, "the end which the statesman should keep in view is the formation of character," then the Great Republic is a destroyer of manliness, for the modern American who wilfully enters an arena of discussion seems to possess only one intellectual weapon—namely,

the faculty of personal abuse, "ut est mos vulgi," and one is forced to say with John Randolph:

The little dogs and all, Tray, Blanch, and Sweetheart, see, they bark at me.

OBSERVER.

Paris, July 26, 1899.

The Blowing up of the Maine.

From the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

One word to "Observer," who speaks about "the insurgents as having blown up the Maine, and that President McKinley knew this when he declared war, against Spain." I wish simply to call "Observer's" attention to "Ecclesiasticus," which says: "Three sorts my soul hateth, and I am greatly grieved at their life: A poor man that is proud; a rich man that is a liar; an old man that is a fool and doting." To which class does "Observer" belong?

Yankee.

Castellamare, July 11, 1899.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As "Yankee" has put his own words in quotation marks his case seems to fit the second half

of the second "sort" of "Ecclesiasticus," and one may dismiss persons of such mental calibre by simply following Voltaire's dictum: "On n'a jamais prétendu éclairer les cordonniers et les servantes; c'est le partage des apôtres."

OBSERVER.

Paris, July 16, 1899.

General Alger.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The United States has at last found a scapegoat for what has been termed mismanagement, corruption, and incompetency in a situation which should have taxed the abilities of Carnot and Napoleon combined.

For no amount of personal abuse on the part of those who follow that protagonist of vituperation, the New York Sun, can answer the broad charge that the people of the United States, unprepared and undisciplined, flung themselves into a conflict which, on their side, has all the character of national hysteria fostered by political intrigue.

NOMAD,

Paris, July 21, 1899.

Military Atrocities.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In his article in the *Figaro*, of which the *Herald* gave but a partial extract, M. Jean Hess shows that the Americans, tried by treachery to "wipe out" the armed Filipinos, that when Professor Schurman, later on, proffered the good faith of the United States as a guarantee, the Filipino envoy intimated that he was not looking for jokes for a comic paper. M. Hess asserts that Americans are now offering a premium for the head of a prominent Filipino, a system which, in view of the "lynchings" in the United States, reveals a uniformity of method altogether national in its character.

An Irishman.

Paris, July 30, 1899.

Porto Rico and the United States.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: As Porto Rico, from a state of contentment in which it was before the United States took possession, has been plunged into rapidly increasing misery, why not, in order that it should be properly and justly governed, transfer it back to Spain? Col. Higginson's suggestion that the

Boer cowhide should be resorted to for the purpose of instilling certain political principles is strangely at variance with his anti-slavery record; but equally abhorrent is the theory of Capt. Mahan's school of politics, which seems to have taken for its motto the Spanish proverb: that a knife is good for cutting bread and killing a man.

OBSERVER.

France, March 5.

A Paradise on Earth.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In support of the *Herald's* arguments against Imperialism, it may be well to quote, "that M. de Tocqueville was strongly persuaded that the natural result of Democracy was a highly concentrated, enervating, but mild despotism."

People who subscribe to the *Herald* absorb little of its common sense, if they do not realize that the *Herald* does not attack American institutions, only the "professional patriots"*, and that the whole

^{*} To disprove the charge of intellectual modesty so often hurled against Americans, the following is given from a speech at the "Republican dinner", in New York City, Febr. 12, 1902:

[&]quot;And on the summit of this century, erect, with her face toward the sun, filled with peace for the world, fearless, faith-

tendency of its articles is to show, what was originally said of Spain, that, give the United States a good government, and you would not be able to keep a single angel in Paradise.

Another Subscriber to the Herald. Paris, July 13, 1900.

Everything Comes to Him who Waits.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald proclaims the "Cubans waiting for freedom," Fabius Maximus McKinley waiting, and intimates that Congress is "cunctating." The

ful, and calm, stands the Goddess of Liberty holding in one hand the sword and in the other education. On her brow rests a wreath of roses, and on her neck sparkle the jewels of wealth. Her garments fall in folds of grace upon a figure the companion of which great Phidias never saw in his visions of Minerva, nor all the imagery of Greece could fashion such a queen. And her name is Peace and her name is Charity, and her name is Virtue. She is the mother of Time, and her children are Order and Law, Education, Liberty, Patience, and Patriotism. At her feet are pleading empires and at her breasts nurse the nations of the world."

As Mr. Depew spoke at the same dinner, in the same strain, one can say that Juvenal, XI. 33/4, was prophet as well as satirist:

Quis sis,

Orator vehemens, an Curtius, an Matho buccæ.

Cubans are probably saying with Sancho Panza, "The doing one thing for another is the same as lying." Let all three have patience, and take heart from the man who sat down in a hatter's because of the sign: "Here you get your hat brushed while you wait for fifty cents." He, also, is still waiting.

SALLE D'ATTENTE.

Paris, February 6, 1901.

The Ninth Part of a Man.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The leader in to-day's *Herald* fails to explain why America should obey the dictation of the *Daily Mail*.

Having committed the most colossal "gaffe" known to history in paying many millions for the right to assert control over a pest hole always ready to burst into insurrection, the United States must now obey the logic of facts, namely, withdraw its decimated army, impeach those who have exceeded their powers, and change the motto on the silver dollar to

Scelerata Insania Belli.

A Tooley Street Tailor.

Paris, 1900.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As the Herald has a fashion of being "ever strong upon the stronger side," and tells Mark Twain, on the authority of the New York Times, to "leave politics alone," perhaps it will be frank enough to repeat the quotation from the New York Times of August 21, 1898: "That a perilous unrest was, in fact, our first and greatest reason for declaring war." It has been openly stated in Paris that General Woodford cabled to Madrid: "If Spain wishes peace, she can have it in three hours, and the United States will be generous." Spain having immediately availed herself of M. Cambon's good offices, the subsequently avowed appropriation of the Philippines was the limit of the generosity displayed. The Herald might be induced to show a little of the belated energy it put forth in the Hay-Lowther affair.

X.

Paris, February 14, 1901.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: In view of the vastly enlarged field of research over which the future historian must

wander in order to collect his facts, it is interesting to know if the cablegram—that important adjunct of modern statesmanship—is to be permitted to play its part.

It has been openly stated in Paris, as already made known in the Paris Herald, "That Gen. Woodford cabled to Madrid: 'If Spain wishes peace, she can have it in three hours, and the United States will be generous.' Spain having immediately availed herself of M. Cambon's good offices, the subsequently avowed appropriation of the Philippines was the limit of the generosity displayed."

It has also been stated that the cablegram was sent to a member of the Austrian legation. Under the existing ruling any cable company would refuse a copy.

Gen. Woodford is naturally the guardian of his own fame, but it would seem compatible with his honor that he should admit or disown an act of whose perfidy he must have been the unconscious instrument.

He has only to remember that Chateaubriand gained vastly in reputation because of his resignation of the mission to Turkey on the murder of the duc d'Enghien, and that the world approved of the action of the London policeman, who,

detailed to follow Mr. Gladstone at night, reported that he himself was an honest man and the father of a family, and preferred other duty.

OBSERVER.

New York, September 3, 1901.

Aguinaldo's Capture.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: In view of the treacherous capture of Aguinaldo and of the "general rejoicing at the White House," will the *Evening Post* give the reply, quoted by Tacitus, of even the despicable Tiberius, when told he could have the great Arminius for a price: "Responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci!"

OBSERVER.

Paris, March 30, 1901.

The Future of the Philippines.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Now that Aguinaldo has been taken, the course of the United States as regards the Philippines is comparatively easy. To make life possible in the new "conquest," it will only be necessary to move

the whole twelve hundred islands from under the sun up to other latitudes, after having beheaded every one of the ten millions of "cut-throats" that inhabit them.

Such is the splendid prospect offered to a dazzled world by Americain Imperialism. X.

Paris, March 30, 1901.

Does Not Read the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald should fold a copy of the Matin with its own daily edition. In paying three sous for the latter, one would then get the news. For the Matin states that a successor to Aguinaldo has been elected, that Mr. McKinley is running away from Cuba from fright, and that Venezuela had curtly told the United States "to go about its business."

The Herald prefers to fill its columns with letters from perturbed "Americans" who, when abroad, boldly refuse to beplaster their manly bosoms with their country's flag, in the hope that they may be taken for Englishmen.

At first the eagle was the American "national bird"; the Spanish war substituted the "gobbler," with the truth-telling emblem: "Vox et

præterea nihil." Now American manifestations, individual as well as national, point to the "sucking dove." Happy country, if it escape the peacock, with its "head of a serpent, pace of a thief, and voice of a fiend!"

A LOUISIANA NEGRO.

Paris, April 14, 1901.

Boer War.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Where can I buy a corset? Not one, according to the old French sign, that

Contient les forts, Soutient les faibles, Ramène les égarés.

but one that has good steel ribs. I wish to send it to General Weyler to hold him in.

For with "Cuba being starved into annexation," the Concentration camps in South Africa, and Gen. Bell, U. S. Army, "establishing 'reconcentrado camps' in the Philippines", the doughty warrior must be "splitting his sides with laughter".

It would be a pity for this "Great God of War" to have an accident from excessive mirth.

A CELT.

Paris, January 26, 1902.

"A Louisiana Negro" Gives Inside Data of the Spanish War.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald's friend, the Matin, states that Mr. McKinley "has to let go" of Cuba, and sneeringly informs a silent American press that Cuba is "une île située dans les Antilles, au sud de l'Amérique du Nord." The Matin forgets that the long-foreseen "skedaddle" leaves every one happy. Wall Street has its "boom"—chief purpose of the war—and "financial magnates" now know that, if time is money, "humanity" pays better. Mr. McKinley has his second term, minor object of the war. Mr. Roosevelt, only partly happy, has his place on the side of the Presidential chair that has no seat.

General Weyler, the speculator's good angel, is back in Spain's bosom. The reconcentrados are in heaven. And Cubans have what disappointed syndicates found to be "as concave as a worm-eaten nut." But happiest of all should be "un Américain, l'un de leurs hommes d'Etat les plus considérables," who, in the *Figaro* of April 23, 1898, asserted that United States "subjects" had "aucune velléité d'annexion," and who gave as

one motive for war the fact that somebody had called Mr. McKinley "a common politician."

Now that the "incident est clos," it is clear that when the American people are summoned to the bar of history, a remnant of their honor may be saved if they are allowed to plead the excuse of the clergyman convicted of theft: that he could only explain it on the ground of the total aberration of his mental faculties.

A Louisiana Negro.

Paris, April 26, 1901.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Polity Above Party Strife.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: In view of the frequent charges of treason made by such newspapers as the Sun, and by numerous speakers at public dinners, against any one who may try to analyze, in an independent way, the existing political conditions in the United States, it is not, perhaps, surprising that reflecting persons may wish to give a reason for the faith that is within them.

One can begin by asserting that the United States needs no defenders. From the nature of its birth, the country was at its inception only a social problem, or, as regarded European tendencies, an entity, "without form and void," but still one planned to work out a better future for humanity at large; for the system of plural sovereignty, as shown in the several States, was established in accordance with the idea that government is the weapon of common action,

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

and the whole theory of the nation's foundation forbade such a unity of control as might involve the people in foreign complications.

Such a polity is, therefore, above party strife, for it is embodied in the national unit known as the United States of America, which, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, is the purest form of Democracy yet devised, and whose Constitution is approved by the world to the point of imitation. But while any defence would only be undertaken by those who are victims of their own egregious vanity, every American who holds to the political philosophy of his country's founders should attack with all the means in his power, either with ridicule, denunciation, or personal effort, the partisanship that has led to a concentrated form of government with its natural train of such evil accompaniments as these:

- (I.) The war of 1861-5, which could have been avoided, had the North not been eager for a progressive absorption of power, and had it realized the plain fact that vested interests like slavery, whatever their origin or character, can only be adjusted by time and an effort of common good will.
 - (2.) The "Carpet Bag" rule in the South,

IN THE UNITED STATES

which those who permitted it accepted as calmly as if theft were the bond of human intercourse.

- (3.) The system of Protection, which, by destroying the principle of equality before the law, has annihilated the moral sense of the people, and has brought about an era of individual enrichment by legislative favoritism, hitherto unknown in the history of finance, and the continuance of which has been assured by the creation of huge responsibilities, such as the pension list.
- (4.) The utter indifference of the nation to the prolongation of a policy, such as the unlawful exercise, by a President, of his official power to wage war against a people not yet legally recognized as enemies—such indifference being a virtual surrender of the citizen's birthright.

Any question of individual responsibility must, however, disappear. For, as long as the people permit a course of legislation the result of which is being slowly but surely accepted as a plutocratic despotism, they practically create the latter, and elections are, accordingly, only the ordinary phenomena of the same vicious system. Messrs. McKinley, Roosevelt and Bryan are but symptoms, so to speak, of public decadence, who, as other men in their places would do, profit by

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

the supineness of a nation to ventilate their personal theories.

To conclude: the country was, at the first, a social problem, framed to develop in the direction of greater personal liberty, and, therefore, of a larger amount of individual happiness, and such it will become again, when Americans are once more actuated by the noble principle that a wrong done to the meanest individual is a crime towards the whole state; or are guided anew by that sublime conception of true democracy:

Greater he shall not be; if he serve God, We'll serve him too, and be his fellow so.

But to gain this end "A species of moral regeneration must first be accomplished," as the London *Times* said of England some eight years ago. "Present habits of thought and present prejudices must be submerged in a widespread patriotism which places the national good above every personal consideration."

OBSERVER.

France, August 15, 1900.

Our Diplomatic Service.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Among the questions of the day, that of raising the character of the United States diplomatic and consular service has not received sufficient attention.

It is well known that one of our Ministers, speaking at a public dinner, soberly advised his fair compatriots not to marry the money-hunting, disreputable men of the nation to which he was accredited; that another took advantage of a "drawing-room" to "hand round" his card, saying at the time, "This saves me the trouble of calling"; that a third, in answer to an invitation to dinner from the British Minister, sent the following "gem": "Old Fel. Can't come. Too—hot. Mrs. sick. Doc. says 'tisn't catching. Yours, etc."; that the wife of a fourth remains seated in the presence of royalty and condescendingly remarks to her Majesty, "How's your husband?"

The ordinary consul who does not, even "in office hours," have his feet poised higher than his head, runs the chance on returning home to his associates of being charged with servilely imitating the manners of a Chesterfield. Perhaps, after one hundred years of what can now only

be considered as experimental government, it is idle to look for better appointments and we must still continue to say with Rabelais, "We are all of us as the good Lord made us, and some of us a great deal worse."

Observer.

France, January 19.

The Republican Party.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Ex-Governor Boutwell's remark at Indianapolis: "The Republican party must be destroyed," is a fitting complement to "Zach" Chandler's utterance of some forty years ago: "The country needs a little blood-letting."

When it is remembered that the advent of the Republican party led to a disastrous civil war; that its course has been marked by the "carpet bag" rule in the South; the Union Pacific swindle; the Star Route frauds; the monstrous pension scandal; a war forced upon Spain, although General Woodford (vide *Evening Post*) openly asserts that it could have been avoided by diplomacy; last and crowning disgrace, the slaughter of the Filipinos; and that the nation pays 150 millions of extra taxes each year for the privilege of

having Mr. McKinley in office,—why, it is time that the country should realize that the terms corruption and massacre are synonymous with the word Republican, and that the people should show, in the coming election, that they possess other qualities than those of the low intelligence and venal brutality of the New York City police.

CRITIC.

Paris, August 22, 1900.

Lawyers and Statesmanship.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Although nothing in the way of strength can be added to Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson's well-knitted argument in your issue of yesterday in regard to the "duties collected on goods coming from the Philippines," yet the reductio ad absurdum, so clearly fastened upon the Administration, lends additional importance to the fact stated by Mr. Depew at the lawyers' dinner in London, that "of twenty-one Presidents of the United States, seventeen had been lawyers."

Heaven alone knows how many members of the different Cabinets have belonged to the same profession! Enough, probably, judging by the existing abnormal position of our country, to

confirm the soundness of Burke's remark, in his Reflections, that "lawyers are naturally bad statesmen."

Certainly, the ordinary mortal is justified in believing that the mechanical impulse given to their mental faculties by a special training ought to prevent lawyers from ever rising to that full power of generalization which is the essence of statesmanship; and perhaps the time is not far distant when a confiding but deceived country shall utter with a cry of anger, Sutor, ne supra crepidam!

It would not be altogether just for a layman to assert also that the Philippine dilemma is the logical outcome of the theory of Junius, that "as to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong;" but the variations, to speak diplomatically, indulged in by the present Cabinet recall very forcibly Mr. Lecky's estimate of Mr. Gladstone: "There is such a thing as an honest man with a dishonest mind. There are men who are wholly incapable of wilful and deliberate untruthfulness, but who have the habit of quibbling with their convictions, and by skilful casuistry persuading themselves that what they wish is right."

And if lawyers continue to exercise such a

preponderance, and one so manifestly pernicious, in the conduct of national affairs, the American people must at last stand face to face with the problem which in the matter of his own government, so often confronts the French citizen, viz.: A soldier or a priest.

Observer.

Pine Hill, N. Y., August 21, 1901.

Refused by the New York Times.

To the Editor of the Times, Saturday Review:

Sir: Prof. Brander Matthews' attempt to "Americanize" English, and his defence of the "split infinitive," cannot be better illustrated than by the story of the country bumpkin who, when some one said he was going to the "daypo," replied, "Deepott, man, pronounce an American word in an American way."

It has always been supposed that it was the wish of literary men to keep their cult pure, that is, free from the poison of politics. Of course it was a noble exception that led the "intellectuels" of France, who were without the influence that money and political power produce, to rush in and rescue an unfortunate being from the hands of his torturers; but many a

modern American college professor, instead of impregnating the minds of young men with ideas of civic virtue and correct thought, and, as a consequence, correct expression, seems mainly bent on fashioning a race of megalomaniacs.

First comes President Schurman, with his telegram, last autumn, to Mr. McKinley: "Go up higher."

It is safe to say that no other such obscurity of expression has occurred save that relative to the exact geographical position of Saul when, according to the Bible, he was pursuing David: "And Saul went on this side of the mountain and David on that side."

And now Prof. Brander Matthews poses as the Sir Oracle who would degrade our mother tongue to the level of the Stock Exchange vulgarian, who, when told of some rumor, pronounced it to be "only a Cunard."

As Herbert Spencer says of statesmen, so with our teachers—they are charged with the "formation of character," and should not be what the French call "brasseurs d'affaires,"—but if the latter insist upon being protagonists of chauvinism they must not complain if some pupil of

inconvenient memory shall be forced to quote from Juvenal:

"Nam lingua mali pars pessima servi."

ZOILE.

Pine Hill, September 9, 1901.

(Returned by the *Evening Post* on the ground that, having been received simultaneously with the news of the wounding of Mr. McKinley, it was deemed inopportune to publish it.)

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: When the Hon. John Barrett, in a letter which savors a little too much of the protest of old mother Hamlet, reproaches your paper with a "bitter anti-McKinley feeling," old-time readers of the *Evening Post* are stirred somewhat by the same reflection that caused Mr. Cleveland's enemies, so to speak, to be such an attractive element in his character.

It may be said that the eternal fitness of things was never better illustrated than by the nomination, in 1900, of Mr. McKinley in the city of Philadelphia.

For, when it is realized that Philadelphia is the nest (vide reports) of typhoid fever and appendicitis due to its polluted water, the consequence of dis-

honest rule, and that the percentage of deaths is larger there than in any other city of the Union, and that the state of which it is the chief city is the foremost defender of the tariff and is a synonym for corruption in the even relatively pure cities of New York and Chicago, then is seen in all its hideous nakedness the sympathetic effect upon the citizen of the degrading influence of the system of protection so justly called the "foe of civilization;" and the fact that Mr. McKinley's second nomination was made in such a civic cesspool is a demonstration of political unity that admits of no misunderstanding.

Had Penn, as Voltaire relates in his history of the Quakers, listened to his dying father, the old Admiral, who "begged William to put a band on his hat and buttons on his clothes," it is probable that to-day Pennsylvania, for the honor of the country, would not have reached such full-grown infamy.

And a believer in the theory of causation has only to remember that Penn, according to Macaulay, received Pennsylvania as a reward for his baseness in pandering to the money necessities of the dissolute women of the English Court, that Pennsylvania is simply carrying out the law of its birth—Nemo repente fuit turpissimus—

and that it was to Pennsylvania that Mr. McKinley naturally went to obtain a vindication of his first Administration.

OBSERVER.

New York City, Sept. 4, 1901.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: The Evening Post has shown such independence of criticism that it would be unfair to speak of it as being "ever strong upon the stronger side"; but its encomium of Dr. Huntington's sermon in to-day's issue leads one to suggest that if the clergy really desire to bring about the condition of mens sana in corpore sano they should urge the abolition of the duty on wool.

It is unnecessary to expatiate on the mental degradation that this barbarity inflicts upon the poor.

It does not do, as the *Evening Post* has well remarked, to take "refuge in a phrase," but it must be remembered that the rich are their own protectors, and that the poor have no one to defend them.

Free Trader.

New York, September 19, 1901.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: If, according to recent ecclesiastical utterances, laws are to be passed restricting "free speech," it would seem as if some annoyance might then be experienced by clergymen themselves, to the benefit, perhaps, of the reading public.

At the time of Queen Victoria's death Cardinal Vaughan announced that she could be prayed for in private but not in public, and adherents of Rome claimed that in "Purgatory" she "would not be allowed to mix with the Catholic set." (Vide correspondence in the London *Times*.)

In this country there has been of late a pulpit defence of lynching, and now a prominent divine virtually attacks the Constitution of the United States by making it a derivative of the French Revolution.

These several teachings are at variance with what Lecky calls "That general accuracy of observation and of statement which all education tends more or less to produce." And if the clergy demand "more education", let it be supplied.

For the present, one remembers only Voltaire's dictum: On peut laisser dire tous les théologiens, qui n'ont jamais dit que des sottises.

OBSERVER.

New York, September 20, 1901,

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

It is pleasing to note the tendency of even our purest political characters to resort to pious phraseology.

When Senator Hanna was elected he telegraphed to Mr. McKinley, "God rules and the Republican party still lives." It was stated that, despite Providential aid, Senator Hanna had bought enough votes to secure the result; and, as all religious denominations—honest folk! change hymns to suit their peculiar views, Democratic parsons gave out the one beginning, "God rules in a mysterious way."

Now, Senator Platt, speaking of Mr. Low's victory, says that Republicans came "to the help of the Lord." Certainly, "the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose."

But most impudent of all is the cablegram of the Lord Provost of Glasgow. What has the

ruler of the most hideously drunken city in the world to do with a New York City election?

And one is tempted to repeat the opinion of Junius in regard to Scotchmen in general: "And Cockburn, like most of his countrymen, is as abject to those above him as he is insolent to those below him."

Zoile.

Paris, November, 1901.

From a Sociologist's Point of View.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Ignoring personalities, Mr. Wertheimber's question, "Who are Americans?" has a certain import.

At present, and since the Spanish war, they may be said to be only bulbous-headed protoplasms, i. e., without distinctive nationality.

Taking the admitted proportion of one religious person to every three, there are in the United States (see almanacks) 25,000,000 Catholics (mostly Irish), 15,000,000 Germans, 11,000,000 negroes, 2,000,000 Poles, 2,000,000 Swedes and 5,000,000 others, leaving the Anglo-Saxon as one-fourth.

Time will eliminate this last piratical (see Boer

war and Philippine horrors) element, and then our country will again become a factor in civilization.

A LOUISIANA NEGRO.

Paris, November 4, 1901.

Censorship at the White House.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Every decent man must regard Tammany's relation to good government as that of garbage to sound food. But President Roosevelt's telegram to Mr. Low, ignoring Pennsylvania, suggests either a censorship at the White House or that the American people should say to Mr. Roosevelt as the man said to his dog: "We want nothing but silence from you, and plenty of that."

Mr. Roosevelt has described Democrats as "prison vermin." There are over six millions of us as voters, and if we are not all politically pure as "Jim" Blaine, "Matt" Quay and "Tom" Platt, those of us who are fighting for "purer manners and better laws" hope that the *Herald* will voice our protest.

A Democrat.

Paris, November 8, 1901.

Listen to a Sociologist.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald's* ex-cathedrâ assertion of the wonderful powers of national assimilation on the part of the United States explains why when an immigrant reaches America he at once has a tab, "Good American," pinned on his coat and is hurried off to the polls to vote.

However, the *Herald*, with its Anglomania—see its Berlin letters—weakly hesitates to state that the Englishman is the most difficult of all to "naturalize." For he must have his "English Chartreuse," his "English brandy," and he does not like American sweet corn, "it is such hard work eating the cob."

A Sociologist.

Paris, January 16, 1902.

Subsequently Denied.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Despite Mr. Roosevelt's telegram to Mr. Low in reference to Tammany, the President, according to the New York *Times* "upholds Quay"—"deposing one McLain because the latter bolted the regular ticket."

It is interesting to recall what the London Times said some years ago: The friends of honest government throughout the world will mourn the success of Mr. Quay in the Pennsylvania election.

A Democrat.

Paris, January 26, 1902.

"Western Gal" as "Heathen Chinee."

To the Editor of the Herald:

Will the Herald kindly decide a bet?

Did not Senator Lodge—as a "Memorial to Mr. McKinley"—propose to change the name "The Philippines Islands," to "The McKinley Archipelago"?

A HEATHEN CHINEE.

Paris, January 29, 1902.

Burns did not Foresee Roosevelt and Lodge.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Permit me to say frankly through your columns that Burns was an imbecile when he wrote: "O would some Power the giftie gie u &c.", for "Le Temps" asserts that the history of the United States will now consist purely of Rooseveltiana, that Americans have the backbone of a sponge,

and that the adversaries of a political Boanerges have only the courage to mutter to themselves, "Oh, for a Lodge in some vast wilderness."

But it is in order to repeat: Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

A DEMOCRAT.

Paris, January, 1902.

FOR THE MCKINLEY MEMORIAL.

A Correspondent Who Thinks the Funds Should be Devoted to Founding a Hospital.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Will the *Herald* permit a bitter political adversary of many of the members of the Paris Committee of the Memorial to Mr. McKinley—an adversary who often regrets that his force is not equal to his venom—to suggest to them, and that most respectfully, that the money raised by them should be held towards building an American hospital in Paris? There are times when politics are nauseating, when one would like to be a genuinely "good" American—of course, in his own acceptation of the term.

There are times when one would like to ignore "rumors of wars" (on reading in your paper that "one could not make a better use of his

dollars than in founding a hospital for American students in the Latin quarter, whose misery in time of illness I have unfortunately had many opportunities of witnessing"), and would also wish to be an "awfully good Britisher."

Therefore, please send the enclosed to the committee. The small sum measures my finances better than it does my good will. I cannot "talk like a 5,000 fr. cheque," and this without any "arrière pensée." Indeed, it is not necessary. The committee, with many Americans, must know that when some of the many hundred American young men and young women in Paris fall ill, as regards hospital arrangements they either lie or die in the gutter.

A McKinley memorial in the nature of an American hospital in Paris would, on the part of our countrymen abroad, be a just tribute to Mr. McKinley's noble sorrow for his invalid wife, uttered when he fell.

A Democrat.

Paris, February 3, 1902.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The letter in your issue of to-day, signed "American-Well Wisher" &c., written by one

who orates as if he were an integral and necessary part of cosmos, and giving, as it does, the changed designation "McKinley National Memorial Fund," reveals so clearly the preconceived partisan character of the "movement" that, perhaps, the *Herald* will for once depart from its established rule and hear both sides.

The attempt to exalt McKinley the official, and not McKinley the man, can only be regarded as an effort to create political capital on the part of those who have profited so largely by his conduct of affairs that at last, to accept Mr. Depew's well known estimate, they have succeeded in turning the United States government into a plutocratic despotism.

Mr. McKinley, the President, needs no memorial; for although the man won all hearts by the calm heroism of his death, yet the ruler, through the class legislation engendered by his Protection policy, is already "enthroned" in the lives and, it may be said, the miseries of his fellow countrymen.

It may be urged that it is the fault of the people themselves that in the country of universal suffrage,

"Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law,"

but our people are, for the moment, the victims of a disorganized political system, citizens of a nation which is in process of formation only. And those who have an abiding faith in their future firmly believe that the time will surely come when it shall no longer be possible to say (whatever he meant to convey) with Mr. Gage, late Secretary of the Treasury, that it is a land, where there is plenty of money and little commercial integrity.

The Canton Committee of the "Memorial Fund" reports only \$10,000 raised so far. Perhaps already the people of the United States are reversing the order established by Tacitus: "Monumentum ad præsens, ad posterum ultionem."

OBSERVER.

Paris, Jany. 8, 1902.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN AND MR. VALLANDIGHAM.

From the *Herald*, February 4, 1902.

Historical Parallels.

To the Editor of the Herald:

SIR,—As my friends and I are unwilling to embarrass the executive at a time of war, I have consented, after a conference with Ministers, to withdraw the amendment to the Address, dealing with Mr. Seddon's protest against pro-Boer utterances, but will you allow me through your columns to show how strong a precedent there is for action. I offer no apology for trespassing on your space, for "the officers and men who are daily and nightly risking their lives on the veldt look for the support of their countrymen," and the views of Abraham Lincoln must be of interest.

In 1863, President Lincoln was cursed with a similar "Stop the War" agitation, fomented by well-meaning fanatics, and stimulated by political adventurers, and, when he discovered that the

utterances of this faction were indeed prolonging the contest, he gave them due warning to "keep their tongues in order," and then, as this was ineffectual, had their leader, a Member of Congress, arrested. This individual was charged with "publicly expressing sympathy for those in arms against the Government of the United States, and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions for the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion."

He was found guilty, and finally, as the best way of disposing of him, was handed over to the enemy, who accepted him! I wonder if General Botha would care to accept any of our pro-Boers? The usual "monster meeting" was organized in protest, and the audience, being told that the question was "whether this war is waged to put down rebellion at the South or to destroy free institutions at the North," passed sundry resolutions, and thereupon President Lincoln came down into the arena. To these New York Democrats Mr. Lincoln said:—

"It is asserted, in substance, that Mr. Vallandignam was seized and tried 'for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of administration and in

condemnation of the military orders of the general.

"Now, if there be no mistake about this; if this assertion is the truth and the whole truth; if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong.

"But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union. . . . He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence of which the life of the nation despends. . . .

"Must I shoot a simple-minded soldierboy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? . . If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them. In other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving

AND MR. VALLANDIGHAM

the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security.

"The Constitution itself makes a distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the Government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in times of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man, because it can be shown to not be good for a well one.

"Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury and 'Habeas Corpus' throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

"In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as 'Democrats.' Nor can I, with full respect for their

known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions. be permitted to suppose that this occured by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves 'Democrats' rather than 'American citizens.' In this time of national peril, I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform, because I am sure that from such more elevated position we could do better battle for the country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and aiming blows at each other. . . .

"Of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battlefield, I have learnt that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it."

To the Ohio Democrats the President wrote as follows: "Under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maining and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Val-

AND MR. VALLANDIGHAM

landigham has been engaged in a greater degree than through any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man. These things have been notoriously known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his special friends and adherents. With perfect knowledge of them, he has frequently, if not constantly, made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies. . . . It is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war."

To how many of our pro-Boers will this "hindrance of the military" apply?

If I wanted another illustration I would point out that Prince Bismarck used almost identical language in October 1870 on the arrest of Jacoby:—

"In other words," said Bismarck, "he was one of the forces that increased the difficulty of attaining the object of the war, and had accordingly to be rendered harmless. . . . Those who wield the power of the State must exercise the rights and fulfil the duties accorded to and imposed upon them for the purpose of securing the object of the war, without regard to the distance from the actual scene of warfare of the objects which require re-

moval. They are bound to prevent the occurrence of such incidents as render the attainment of peace less easy."

"We are now carrying on a war for the purpose of enforcing conditions which will hinder the enemy from attacking us in future. Our opponents resist these conditions, and will be greatly encouraged and strengthened in their resistance by a declaration on the part of Germans that these conditions are inexpedient and unjust. The Brunswick working class manifesto and the Königsberg resolution have been utilized to the utmost by the French press, and have obviously confirmed the Republicans now holding power in Paris in the idea that they are right in rejecting these conditions.

"These French Republicans measure the influence of their German sympathizers on the Governments of Germany by the standard of their own experience. The impression which those demonstrations at Brunswick and Königsberg produced in Germany was probably little; but the point is, what effect did they have in Paris? The effect there is such that similar demonstrations must be rendered impossible in future, and their instigator must accordingly be put out of harm's way."

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Great minds run in the same groove. President Lincoln, possibly, strained the constitution, but history admits that he was right to act as he did under the circumstances.

Mr. Seddon, Mr. Barton and statesmen in Canada have protested in sending fresh reinforcements that but for pro-Boer utterances this war would have been over, and it is a terrible reflection that, as a party, the pro-Boers exist only in the old country. "Oh, let them alone," is a stock argument. This "let alone" policy may come to be the ruin of Great Britain. Apathy and indifference and an incapacity for going to the root of things are the bane of the Old Country in more directions than one, and we have lately been warned in a memorable speech at the Guildhall that we have to "wake up." It is abundantly clear that if we are to preserve our self-respect and the respect of our colonial allies, shortly to become great nations, we must indeed wake up to this sedition in our midst, an evil which has cost us dear, and I beg your assistance, Sir, to draw attention to this urgent question.

JAMES LESLIE WANKLYN.

House of Commons, London, January 28, 1902.

Confidential.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I shall confess to a deep disappointment if the Herald refuses to accept the following. The Herald will perceive that it has no political bearing; that it is simply the elucidation of a historical point and is moreover a defence of that liberty of utterance which is as necessary for a newspaper as it is for a man.

The assertion attributed to Mr. Gladstone was made by him to one of my friends.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. James Leslie Wanklyn's letter, in your issue of yesterday, with all due permission, reminds one of the dying Scotchman who, when the parson said, "Let us pray", replied, "Don't waste any time, let's argy".

Briefly stated, Mr. Wanklyn's letter is a plea for an annihilation of every Constitutional check in a time of war; and in support of his position he cites the case of Vallandigham; gives Mr. Lincoln's arbitrary procedure as an axiomatic and universal law and ends his argument with the

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self-comforting assertion that, "History admits that he (Lincoln) was right to act as he did under the circumstances."

Without any wish on my part to follow Mr. Wanklyn's example and indulge in ratiocination pure and simple, will the *Herald* permit me to attempt an answer to what, if unchallenged, might lead to a wrong impression and establish a species of pernicious precedent?

I will agree with Mr. Wanklyn in this; that Mr. Lincoln is now a historical character of the first importance, one who has had such a potent influence for good or evil upon the lives and fortunes of his countrymen that he cannot any longer be belittled by any reference to his personal appearance or traits, a method to which Gen. McClellan descended. That, therefore, his public acts can be impartially examined by the searcher after truth, who will undoubtedly say of Mr. Wanklyn, in the words of Tacitus, what he can certainly say of me: "Sine gratia aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conscientiæ pretio ducebatur."

Mr. Wanklyn will probably agree with me, that Vallandigham, even if he was shielded by Constitutional previsions, was one who carried out to perfection Lord Eldon's idea: "If I had to

begin life again, hang me but I would be an agitator."

But here Mr. Wanklyn and I must separate. Mr. Wanklyn's argument falls to pieces without his knowing it, and, if he will again permit, the Scotchman is dead but, with the pertinacity of his race which has persisted until it has succeeded in sinking its country's existence in the individuality of England, he still continues to "argy".

For, to justify his own country in doing what it is admitted it can do without question, Mr. Wanklyn appeals to my country which, in having done what he commends, has virtually committed national suicide.

To wit: Mr. Wanklyn is the subject of a government which need only consult expediency as its guide, and which could send him to the block to-morrow without violating any rights save those "which God and Nature have put into his hands"*. For as Dr. Johnson said of 1688:

Le jugement rendu par le comité judiciaire du conseil privé, c'est-à-dire en réalité par la voix prépondérante du lord chancelier, juge et partie, a d'un coup soumis tous les sujets du roi Edouard, où qu'ils résident et sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, à la juridiction sommaire des conseils de guerre substitués aux tribunaux ordinaires et aux juges compétents.

^{*} Extract from Le Temps, Paris, le 10 fév. 1902:

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"Our revolution was necessary but it broke our Constitution." And it may surprise Mr. Wanklyn to know that no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone has asserted that the English government could at any time be subverted by a stroke of the pen on the part of the Sovereign and his Prime Minister.

Whereas, my country is supposed to be directed in conformity with a written Constitution which declares: Art. III. sec. III. "No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act &c." And, in exiling Mr. Vallandigham, Mr. Lincoln did not act like a constitutional ruler, he acted like a despot; to repeat Dr. Johnson's words, he "broke the Constitution". It is interesting in this connection to note Lord Chatham's case. His lordhip's language was much more offensive to the ruling powers than Vallandigham's; his action much more effective, as the epoch was more illiberal, and yet he only succeeded in disturbing Lord North's after-dinner naps. Democrats of today who are not office seekers wish that Vallandigham had accomplished as little!

If then Mr. Wanklyn's case is closed, the circumstances permit a resort to the logic of facts.

I suppose that Mr. Wanklyn will admit the

force of Herbert Spencer's dictum: "The end which the statesman should keep in view as higher than all other ends is the formation of character", and will co-incide with Dr. Johnson that: "The end of government is to give every one his own."

If so, the point at last is clear: Did Mr. Lincoln's expulsion of Vallandigham carry out the essential object of his country's original polity which was to perpetuate the principles embodied in D'Alembert's definition of patriotism: "L'amour du bien public, le désir de voir les hommes heureux?" And how has his violation of the dicta of Herbert Spencer and Dr. Johnson resulted? In other words, what was the effect of Mr. Lincoln's action upon the character and physical conditions of his countrymen?

First, let me declare that—to paraphrase Prince Bismarck's saying—"We, Americans, fear nobody, much less facts". And every American worthy of the name will say with Montaigne: "C'est aux serfs de mentir et aux libres de dire vérité".

And the facts are these: Mr. Lincoln, through Vallandigham, destroyed all Constitutional opposition, and changed a government which had formerly been the weapon of common action into what it has ever since continued to be, only

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the voice of one party, to degenerate at last, and naturally, into a plutocratic despotism. (Vide Mr. Depew's estimate that "the United States government is to-day in the hands of some 500 capitalists".)

These were the results:

- 10. On character.
- (a) Mr. Seward's "little bell". "With one stroke, I send a prisoner to Fortress Monroe; with two strokes, a prisoner to Fort Lafayette. Can the Queen of England on her throne do as much?" (Vide British Minister's report to his government.) This disgrace might have been avoided had Mr. Vallandigham been politically existant.
- (b) It is unpleasing to recall the notorious scandals in regard to supplies of "shoddy", rusteaten rifles, paper-soled boots, rotten-timbered steamers &c. &c. One well-known man (vide New York papers) "returned" some \$149,000 conscience money. Mr. Vallandigham was exiled, can Mr. Wanklyn name a single contractor pursued or even molested?
- (c) "Carpet Bag" rule in the South. Here, civilization kindly draws a veil.
- (d) The Supreme Court. It is only necessary to refer to Gen. Grant's well known "packing" to secure a desired "Legal Tender" decision,

and to quote Mr. Bancroft Davis' comment upon the recent Philippine case, "That it only served to recall Lord Mansfield's famous advice: 'Give your decisions, never your reasons. Your decisions may be right, your reasons are sure to be wrong'."

20. On physical conditions.

The crowning result of Mr. Lincoln's action is "McKinleyism". Mr. McKinley was the "head and front" of a policy of Protection which now clothes the masses of the United States in a compound of "shoddy" and cotton, and that in the most inclement of climates, with the result that the land is yearly swept by pneumonia and kindred diseases. Mr. McKinley was the protagonist of a tariff which, by its propagation of monopolies, has so increased the cost of living, that those who are capable of judging know that, as regards the bien-être* of the common people, the United States to-day stands lower than Russia.

That this is not the extreme view of a polit-

^{*} From a letter in the New York Times, Febry. 4, 1902: I could fill every column of the Times with instances of the fearful discrepancy between the expense of living and the money that can be earned. Is it any wonder that to those who suffer by these conditions the constant boasts of our wonderful prosperity seem almost a ghastly sarcasm?

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ical partisan the following extract from The London Investor's Review (Nov. 1901) will show:

"Crossing the Atlantic, what is the position in the United States? Purely non-moral—one might almost say anti-moral-finance has never in any country attempted such stupendous feats as in the United States of North America. Sheltered behind a customs tariff, in itself one of the most flagrant embodiments of political dishonesty the world now beholds, groups of individuals have striven to monopolize for their own interest, not merely the product of men's industry but the gifts and treasures of nature, the unearned increment of future generations. And they have succeeded in doing this to an extent which has reduced the mass of the American people to a state of pitiful slavery. And one day, in spite of tariffs, of Legislatures, and Executive officials at their beck and call, the small knot of ravishers of men's lives, who seem to sway the interests of the great American Republic as if they were their private business will find that the moral laws of the universe cannot be defied with impunity."

Bismarck's barbarous methods "of enforcing conditions which will hinder the enemy from attacking us in future" can be dismissed by citing the

Eastern conqueror who, according to Gibbon, cut off the right hand of every laboring man.

Had the theory of crushing opposition always prevailed and been carried to its inevitable conclusion, John Hampden would have died upon an unknown gibbet and Luther, unheard of, would have rotted in some Inquisitor's cell.

LESLIE CHASE.

Paris, Febry. 5, 1902.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sin: It is strange to note how a deep national shock is apt to numb even sensibilities the most callous.

There glided into the harbor yesterday a stately ship carrying in its proud flanks the modern Veni, Vidi, Vici.

But what must have been the indignation of the noble craft at shores unfilled with the populace, where not a babe was held aloft to "see great Pompey pass!"

Yet memory can supply other triumphs for the potentate. When Admiral Dewey returned from that great battle, which—to paraphrase what Porson said of Southey's Thalaba—"will be spoken of with pride when Trafalgar is forgotten but not until then," it was decided to allot him a full

measure of civic adulation and the unfortunate sailor was forced to shake Richard Croker by the hand.

At another time a great, if historic, family, finding it consonant with its traditions to entertain in a lordly way, gave a dinner to the "Boss," and imagination fondly pictured at the top of the "guest of honor's" "menoo" that beautiful quotation from the Metropolitan cars: "\$500 fine, etc."

Then comes "Richard Croker," by Alfred Henry Lewis. This Erostratus of American literature should stand high in the Hall of Fame, for he is the first to offer to his amazed countrymen the apotheosis of garbage.

And Alfred Henry Lewis has given to New Yorkers a novel interpretation of John Bright's famous quotation:

"There is on earth a yet diviner thing, Vile though it be, than Parliament or King."

OBSERVER.

New York, September 15, 1901:

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

It is not surprising that English exultation over the result of the siege of Mafeking should find vent in the following from the London Times: "Throughout the Empire it is instinctively felt that at Mafeking we have the common man of the Empire, the fundamental stuff of which it is built, with his back to the wall, fighting an apparently hopeless battle without ever losing hope, facing apparently overwhelming odds without a thought of surrender, bearing the extremity of privation without complaint, holding his courage high in spite of deadly physical weakness and disease, and at the long last coming out proud, tenacious, unconquered and unconquerable." And the ordinary Englishman with "his chest in the air" may say with Juvenal:

Ε cœlo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτὸν.

Of course the Englishman, educated at Oxford or Cambridge, — formerly nests of the "humanities", now "claqueurs" of Mr. Chamberlain's South African policy—can use Augustan diction, but, "Lo", the poor American, Schwablike, must content himself with altering Bowdler's protégé and say:

Look here on that picture and on this.

At the time these enjoyable but somewhat inflated lines appeared in the *Times*, Richard Croker, Esquire, and Joseph Pulitzer, Esquire, were waging, through the London press, a war of personalities, each claiming to be an "American", and each indulging in the tu quoque argument, that the other was "no gentleman."

It is true that Joseph Pulitzer's name goes down to posterity linked with that of Washington and that of Lafayette, because of the peregrinating statue in the Place des Etats-Unis in Paris.

But to convey a full idea of the terrific nature of the reciprocal accusations made, it is well to repeat the famous description of a gentleman given in the Chronicles of King Arthur: "And now, I dare say", said Sir Ector, "that Sir Launcelot, there thou liest, thou were never matched of none earthly knight's hands: and thou were the curtiest knight that ever beare shield; and thou were the kindest man that ever strooke with sword and thou were the goodliest person that ever came among presse of knights; and thou were the meekest man and the gentlest that ever sate in hall among ladies and thou were the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest."

No wonder that Schopenhauer said: "Le patriotisme, la plus sotte des passions, est la passion des sots," for neither Mr. Croker nor Mr. Pulitzer has as yet brought suit for libel.

Thank heaven, Dr. Johnson is no more! He would have "defined" the "last refuge": Civis Americanus sum. Observer.

Paris, 1900.

ADMIRAL DEWEY.

Admiral Dewey's Reward.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Rome honored a returning conqueror with a triumph.

England sometimes confers a dukedom, but it is left to the United States to offer an attack of indigestion.

When one considers that the fight at Manila consisted in hurling a fleet of secretly and carefully organized ironclads upon a lot of half-stranded hulks, there can be no doubt that it was the most important naval conflict since "The Battle of the Kegs."

And it is a logical carrying out of "The White Man's Burden" to compel the victor to swallow "a one hundred dollar dinner." It only remains ifor the band to play "See the conquering hero" eat.

ADMIRAL DEWEY

History records only one other such celebration. It was when Domitian marched to the Capitol with hired slaves dressed as prisoners.

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

Paris, May 16, 1899.

From the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"The Patagonian is a savage of the lowest type. In appearance he is repulsive, with large hands and feet and protuding stomach. He is probably the most difficult of the human family to civilize, and rarely, if ever, gives up entirely his disgusting habits."—Mitchell's Geography.

The "Naturalized Patagonian" who writes letters in the *Herald*, we see by the above quotation, has a difficult task to become fit to live among Christians.

Vermont.

Paris, May 17, 1899.

To Vermont.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Vermont," since his arrival in the "villelumière," has evidently, from the incoherence of

ADMIRAL DEWEY

his allusion, not followed the example of that other "Christian," who wrote home "that he was so sorry he had not seen Paris before he had had 'change of heart.'"

The brutal and wholesale slaughter of the Filipinos by order of a President acting without any known authority reveals a lower depth of moral degradation than ever geographer described. And a people who, without comment or surprise on the part of the rest of the country, could organize "excursion trains" (vide New York papers) "to see the heart and liver torn out of a captured negro," no longer possess the qualities that make a nation, and have sunk to the level of a social problem of a certain size and complexity.

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

Paris, May, 1899.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. Andrew Carnegie having, through protection, made great masses of unreflecting voters—a nation, in fact—tributary to his Pittsburg works, and thereby accumulated 200 millions, asserts that "the man who dies rich is disgraced." According to the *Temps* Mr. Carnegie, sixty years old, and the husband of a young wife, advises young men to marry women older than themselves.

Mr. Carnegie has written a book, "Triumphant Democracy," although his grand capacity must have shown him the truth of Mr. Depew's estimate "that the United States Government is to-day in the hands of some five hundred capitalists."

With a change of words, Mr. Carnegie is like Lord Macaulay's famous Judge Impey, "rich, inconsistent and happy."

FREE TRADE.

Paris, February 8, 1901.

Mr. Carnegie and Marriage.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. Carnegie's somewhat Delphic utterance as to marriage recalls General Scott's "hasty plate of soup." As people must have weighty reasons at election times it was properly asked: "What was 'hasty'—the candidate, the plate or the soup?" Mr. Carnegie only increases doubts already created by Rabelais and "Punch."

BACHELOR.

Paris, February 16, 1901.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: A letter in one of the papers has intimated that it was strange that Mr. Carnegie, in giving so much money for purposes of enlightenment, had ignored the University of Columbia.

Without suggesting what seems to free-traders only fair, namely, that Mr. Carnegie should pay into the United States Treasury the greater part of his huge fortune—boldly taken, according to them, out of the pockets of the people through the corrupt legislation engendered by protection—yet it is not surprising that Mr. Carnegie should

hesitate to favor financially an institution which, under its modern tutelage and with an oft-remunerated patriot as the President of the Association of its Alumni, has resolved itself into what is little more than a Republican Primary.

And Indignation should find comfort in Juvenal's reflection:

Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa Fortuna.

An Alumnus of Columbia College. Pine Hill, August 8, 1901.

Should All Stop at Home.

To the Editor of the Herald:

It is somewhat of a painful shock for those Americans who, hypnotized by the enchanting life of Paris, can say with Jean-Jacques:

> Salve, fatis mihi debita tellus; Hic domus, hæc patria est,

to learn from Mr. Choate's recent Lotos Club speech that they are not "intelligent" if they "remain abroad &c. &c."

Mr. Choate must have been the man who made Dingley put a duty on eggs "because it was a shame to have the bright young American

fowl come into competition with the worn-out hen of Europe."

At the same dinner, Mr. Carnegie, with his 200 millions,—the American prototype of Oliver Cromwell, viz; the Great Protected—again lauded the land of civil and political equality.

Mr. Choate and Mr. Carnegie are evidently both imitating the king who wished he had been present at the Creation for he "would have given some very useful advice".

AN EMIGRANT.

Paris, January, 1902.

"Observation Qui Coule de Source."

To the Editor of the Herald;

Mr. Schwab's widely-repeated slur on collegebred men seems at last to be recognized as "une observation qui coule de source," and for flashy egotism it should be coupled with Mr. Carnegie's profound condensation of political economy: "The man who dies rich is disgraced."

For the prudish and prurient New York *Times* of January 16 says: "It was the folly of the proceeding, quite as much as its wickedness or its bad taste, that shocked," &c., &c. (It must be true, as stated, that "Sunday School" Wana-

maker runs the *Times*.) "Perhaps if Mr. Schwab had more of the education which it is his habit to decry as useless for men of affairs . . . he would not have been obliged to offend and alarm so large a fraction of his fellow-countrymen."

In Mr. Schwab's defence, it may be said that, since the Spanish war, the people of the United States are as easily "shocked" as was the modest young lady who refused to take her bath because there was a religious newspaper, "The Christian Observer," lying on the table.

AN Ex-GAMBLER.

Paris, January 26, 1902.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

President Roosevelt's telegram to Mr. Low, ignoring Pennsylvania, must have given satisfaction, if negative, to Mr. Quay.

From New York papers it appears that Mr. R. B. Roosevelt says that his relative's party is not "moral" and the President's dispatch declares that R. B.'s is not "decent". Mr. Low acclaims Mr. Platt as "the presiding genius of the Republican party." Opponents of Mr. Platt assert that he knows more about "every man's price" than any "statesman" since Walpole.

The government is about "to proceed against the trusts;" but the tariff, "mother of trusts" according to Mr. Havemeyer, is to be untouched.

Of course if all the members of Congress implicated in the sugar trust were to be imprisoned, justice, to be effective, need only lock the two bodies in the Capitol and write Sing-Sing over the door.

The American masses, political slaves, paralyzed by the corrupt system of protection, are clothed in "shoddy" or worse, and that, too, in the most inclement of climates, so that pneumonia and tuberculosis are more rife in proportion than even in fog-cursed England or underfed France.

Where did Mr. Frick intend to live when, according to the *Herald*, in speaking of Mr. Carnegie, he said, "I only deal with honest men"?

All this puzzles me. And, as the duc de Gesvres, a gouty old man of eighty, said, in being carried to his bride by four lackeys: Je vole à vous.

Zoile.

Paris, Nov. 20, 1901.

From the Herald.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

Lecture by Mr. Andrew D. White, United States
Ambassador to Germany.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Last evening the two sitting rooms in the house of Mr. Griscom, 24 Kleiststrasse, were crowded with a gathering of ladies and gentlemen, mostly Americans. They had come to hear a lecture by the United States Ambassador, Mr. White, entitled, "Evolution versus Revolution."

As everyone knows, the American Ambassador in Berlin is a skilled lecturer, and those who heard him last night listened to an expert discoursing upon an involved subject, of which he was thorough master. In England he took Burke and Pitt as models of apostles of evolution, but George III., doggedly Conservative, and sundry Americans fiercely Radical, were apostles of revo-

lution, and revolutionary methods prevailed. Blood-shed was the result.

In France he took Turgot, who strove to develop free institutions by a natural process. By vast comprehensive political measures he sought to develop an environment which should fit the people gradually and safely for their rights, and for the discharge of their duties. But in spite of his work and that of such men as Bailly, Lafayette and Mirabeau, who exerted themselves in behalf of progress by evolution, there was progress by catastrophe, massacres, revolutions, wars.

American Civil War.

In the American Civil War, only one man thought out a great statesmanlike measure; that man was Henry Clay. But he was successfully opposed. The result was that slavery was, indeed, abolished, but instead of by peaceful evolution, by the most fearful of modern revolutions, at the cost of \$\\$10,000,000,000 and nearly a million of lives.

In Russia the emancipation of the serfs was a great evolutionary triumph without cost of life, but, on the other hand, there has been a reaction since, and Russia seems to be doomed to revolutionary advance.

In the first half of the present century it had become the fashion to glorify revolution in the United States, and there was a steady glorification of the revolutionary struggle with England. What was best in it, the great constructive part by men like Washington, Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, Madison and Marshall, was comparatively little thought of. What was most orated about in ten thousand little hamlets was the destructive part. This glorification of revolution North and South helped to promote the Civil War.

Prussia's Evolution.

Prussia, after having been crushed by Napoleon, began a thorough evolution of moral strength. Prussia began that evolution manfully, nobly, quietly. The moral system of Kant was evolved—the categorical imperative—the ethical idea of duty, "thou shalt, thou shalt not." It took hold of the foremost men in the land, it was infused into poetry, specially into the drama by Schiller, into song by Arndt; it was infused into prose and especially into his addresses to the German nation by Fichte. From scores of professorial chairs, from hundreds of pulpits, from myriads of newspapers it was implanted in the thoughts and translated into the actions of millions of men and

women. It gave the old men the patriotic fire of youth, it gave the young men the steadiness of veterans, it gave the women the fortitude of Spartan mothers and sisters. The result was the gradual abolition of the serf system in Prussia by Stein, the creation of a nation trained for war by Scharnhorst, the physical hardening and strengthening of the people by Jahn, and at last the great uprising, the war of freedom of 1813, the battles of Leipsic and Waterloo, the lifting up of Prussia, the coming of the Emperor William and Bismarck. And so was evolved the German Empire.

Prussia has advanced by a steady evolution of the moral sense of her people, a moral sense taking shape in earnest thought, in steady work, in heroism, in self-sacrifice, so that she has presented one of the most glorious chapters in the history of human progress.

A ROLLING STONE.

Berlin, March 7, 1899.

Reply to "Rolling Stone."

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Rolling Stone's" letter in to-day's *Herald*, judging by what he says of Henry Clay's part in the American civil war, must have been written

by one whose relatives are "still voting for Andrew Jackson."

Henry Clay died on June 29, 1852, but if it is a fact that in 1861 he gave advice which, if followed, would have saved so much money (money first!) and so many lives, he can be said to be another remarkable instance of "one that being dead yet speaketh."

"Rolling Stone" has also the hardihood to mention Mirabeau when speaking of Prussia's evolution, forgetting that it was Mirabeau who said, "La guerre est l'industrie nationale de la Prusse," and when he refers to Prussia's "moral sense" he ignores the historic reply of Sir Hugh Elliott to Frederick II., who had said to him, "Who is this Hyder Ali of whom I hear so much?" "Sire," replied Elliott, "c'est un vieillard, qui, ayant passé sa vie à piller ses voisins, radote."

Such an astounding flow of words over Prussia's "human progress" leads to the suspicion that "Rolling Stone" must have put the pages of a dictionary into a meat chopper and then turned the handle.

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

March 11, 1899.

Extracts from a speech made by Mr. Andrew D. White at the Hague on July 4, 1899, and reprinted in the London *Times*, July 5, 1899.

"Cynics, skeptics, zealots, pessimists, pseudophilosophers, sublimely unreal thinkers &c. &c."

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Cynics, skeptics, zealots, pessimists, pseudophilosophers, sublimely unreal thinkers &c. &c."

Is it Treason?

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Times* reports that Messrs. McKinley and Roosevelt have issued a manifesto "denouncing as traitors" those who oppose their policy, a manifesto which shows profound ignorance of what the Constitution defines as treason.

In Europe, imitators of Rabelais and Carlyle use the epithets "cynics," "skeptics," "zealots," "pessimists," "pseudo-philosophers," "sublimely unreal thinkers." Why not keep to the simpler Democratic term? It tallies much better with what Talleyrand said when told that Lord Castle-

reagh was the only one in a large assembly who did not wear any decorations: "Ma foi, c'est bien distingué!"

QUERIST.

Paris, July 11, 1899.

The following in reference to Prussia was written by Gouverneur Morris, United States Minister to France in 1796. It is possible that Mr. Andrew D. White in his studies on the origin of the German Empire may not have seen it:

"Le caractère de ce peuple, formé par une succession de princes rapaces, est tourné à l'usurpation."

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Paris.

To the Evening Post.

Passports and Protection.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Your paper of March 28 publishes a Washington letter headed "United States Passports", in which you seem to approve of the action of our Department of State in the matter of passports.

It appears that to travel in Spain a passport—of any date—is necessary, and that to travel in Turkey a fresh one is obligatory for each journey. The logical conclusion is, therefore, that a United States citizen cannot travel in either of these two countries except by permission of a United States official. As our Constitution is silent in regard to the places an American must visit and the spots where he must dwell, do you not think that you are—in this article—lending yourself to the prevailing theory of protection, which, by its attempt to regulate

prices, wishes to prescribe what we must eat, wear, and use?

The issuance of a passport is a simple notarial act, and to refuse one unless coupled with the irrelevant condition, that the holder must return to the United States within two years, is equivalent to refusing a certificate of marriage unless the applicant promises to get a divorce during a corresponding period.

Your correspondent juggles with words when he says the Secretary "may", not "shall." For government is a weapon of common action and the men we elect to office are our representatives and not our rulers, and as such are called upon to perform official acts and not to indulge in freaks of individual or party caprice.

Paris, April 18, 1892. UNPLACED AMERICAN.

From the Herald.

U.S. PASSPORT REGULATIONS.

Mr. D. J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, States the Conditions Under Which They Are Issued.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The following extracts from a letter written by the Assistant Secretary of State will doubtless interest many readers of the Herald.

Paris, November 22, 1898. F. CLARKE.

"The granting of passports by this Government is, under Section 4,075 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, permissive and not mandatory. The relation of the citizen to the State is reciprocal, embracing the duties of the individual, no less than his rights, and the best evidence of the intention of an applicant for a passport to discharge the duties of a good citizen is to make the United States his home; the next best is to return to the United States within a reasonable time."

(Signed)

DAVID J. HILL. "Assistant Secretary."

Washington, November 4, 1898.

American Passports.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The explanation of the Assistant Secretary of State in regard to passports, coupled with his definition of what constitutes a "good" citizen, recalls the commonly accepted English idea of Mr. Webster—a great American statesman who passed his leisure moments in "composing" a dictionary. Because one has been born upon United States soil does it necessarily follow that

he must forfeit all claim to the usages established by civilization?

Americans have driven out Chinamen as laborers, but why do they continue to pay them fat salaries in order to induce them to remain as Government officials?

From what has been set forth by this phraseloving functionary it is evident that our great progenitors would have been refused United States passports, for, according to Milton—

"The world was all before them where to choose."

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

Paris, November 24, 1898.

Résumé of a letter in the Herald not kept.

"Americans who demand passports other "than those now issued by the State Depart-"ment should become naturalized English-"men and take their share of the burden of "the British Empire &c. &c."

(Signed)

F. CLARKE.

American Passports.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. F. Clarke's intelligent suggestion that Americans who desire serviceable passports should

become Englishmen finds its counterpart in the decision of the poor man who made up his mind that the next time he was born he was going to have a rich father.

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN. Saint-Wenc, February 21, 1899.

The Value of Passports.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The frequent discussions in regard to passports lead one to reconsider the nature of the document in question.

A passport can be said to be only a paper of identification which, owing to the construction of modern society, contributes in certain circumstances to the convenience of a citizen. In other words, it is nothing but a notarial act and does not, per se, confer immunity from crime or secure the protection of one's Government. The latter is a question of a nation's own dignity.

The needlessly vexatious decision that holds is in reality, therefore, only the personal opinion of officials who are strangely persistent in asserting what constitutes a "good" citizen at a time when their efforts would be better directed in procuring sound meat and pure water for the mili-

tary. Doubtless the statutes have again been "revised," so as to define the status of the Filipinos in regard to the passport regulations. For the moment there would not appear to be any pressing need of an immediate declaration of policy.

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

February 6, 1899.

From the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Much of the indignation expressed in communication to the *Herald* regarding the regulations for the issuance of United States passports seems to come from people who have a very bad conception of the "rights of citizens," or from people who are not deserving of those precious documents.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Would these complainers repeal all regulations for the issuance of passports, so that "Tom, Dick and Harry" could demand them by simply swaggering into the State Department or an Embassy or Legation, without proof of identity, nativity, citizenship or allegiance to the flag? Or would they have it fixed so that they could demand

and receive the documents by writing postal cards?

Whoever heard of a foreigner residing in America who cared a rap about a passport issued by his native country? Whoever heard of an American who wanted to be naturalized in a European country?

The proper thing for Americans who prefer Europe to their native land to do is to become naturalized citizens of the countries in which they spend their lives: become citizens, and perform their military and other duties, just as Europeans do who come to America to live.

HOME AMERICAN.

Washington's Birthday, 1899.

American Passports.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Home American's" letter in your issue of to-day serves only to indicate his familiarity with the commonplace jargon usually employed by the "professional" officeholder.

The Herald's generous treatment of correspondents can be the only reason why, with its

"already too congested columns," it should have given so much space to one who apparently would like to prove that the United States is unwilling or unable to accord recognition to its own citizens—a prerogative jealously maintained by all nations that stand in the front rank of civilization.

But "Home American's" reasoning is like that of the old woman who affirmed that "the moon was as light as a cork."

Thanks to the extension of "regulations" and sumptuary laws, the American "good" citizen has become a species of serf, whose rights have been transformed into favors that are at the mercy of any autocratic official who may wish to display his pompous ignorance.*

A NATURALIZED PATAGONIAN.

February 24, 1899.

* From the London Times, February 24, 1902:
Washington, February 22.

Mr. Hay has refused to grant passports to Dr. Thomas, of Chicago, and his wife, who wished to visit South Africa for the purpose of distributing money for the use of the inmates of the concentration camps. Mr. Hay gave as the reason for this refusal that Mr. Roosevelt would object.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: The letter headed "The Talk of Paris" in your issue of February 27 is of a nature to cause a grave misapprehension in the minds of your readers as to an apparent indifference on the part of the French people in regard to the Dreyfus affair. And, while not questioning your correspondent's good faith, one feels that he himself, in not attempting to put the matter in its proper light, is becoming an accomplice in what may possibly turn out to be the most repugnant crime of modern history.

It is not possible with a mot of the witty Lemaître to stifle a cause that has been taken up by "300,000", which number more than represents the just proportion of right-thinkers in a nation the size of the French, and to which number M. Lemaître's recent actions and words show that he no longer belongs.

Of the French people it can be admitted that a large number, in fact, the majority does not concern itself with the "Affaire". This majority may be said to consist of the prolétariat and of what may be called the pingrerie, the former absorbed in daily toil, the latter in their soul's one occupation, namely, niggardly hoarding.

With the exception then of the "300,000", it cannot be denied that all that enter into the mental life of France, to wit, the Army and Navy, the church and the 800,000 functionaries, are not only not indifferent but are all, all combined as one man in an angry and dogged pursuit of one suffering prisoner; a pursuit which would be incredible if it were not so ghastly. And it is safe to say that never since the beginning of the Christian era has one unimportant, and, perhaps, uninteresting personality been the object of such an array of hostile force as is shown in this case by all that there is of power in France except its conscience.

The strength of this statement may be felt by recalling Victor Hugo's comparison of John Brown to Christ. John Brown had to lose his life but not to combat, and he a condemned and confined felon, all that religious hate, disappointed

ambition and fear of exposure could inspire in the minds of a nation of enemies.

Your correspondent speaks of "a surface character." Why, there is not one official that has emerged from the affair who has not been entangled in such a maze of contradictions, eavesdroppings, forgeries, suicides and even accusations of murder, that his political future is gone forever.

But from this wreck of reputations there rises one man, Picquart, who has hazarded fortune, fame and life itself, who has suffered imprisonment and every species of obloquy in defense of what he felt to be the truth, a man who would do honor to any age or nation and who may be called the Luther of France.

"A surface character" indeed! There is not a prosperous or influential journal in France that does not for the moment make the "affaire" its raison d'être. On the one side; the "Libre Parole", edited by the non-descript Drumont and whose columns were recently reeking with frantic appeals for "another Saint Bartholomew", and the catholic and monarchical Gazette de France that advocated "pure and undefiled" assassination in the open street: and on the other side; the Siècle that proposes for itself the principles

that the *Evening Post* seems to avow, and are what Herbert Spencer called "the economic aggregation of the whole human race."

As to the "wearing out," one has only to read to know that the whole of civilization is stirred to its depths. There is not a foreign newspaper in the world, comprising the United States and Europe, with the possible exception of one in Russia, that has not in this matter held France up to scorn, to pity or to punishment; and such a sense of horror has been imbibed in the heart of universal man that, if what Voltaire calls "an atom upon the earth's surface" should be proved to be innocent and should be denied freedom, it is no exaggeration to say that there will come a crusade against the integrity of French soil that will find an explanation in two words: Picquart and Dreyfus.

No, Monsieur Lemaître, if there are on one side only "300,000", you cannot deny that, on the other, there is a host trying to give actuality to the fierce arraignment; "moitié singes et moitié tigres."

Observer.

Paris, March 15, 1899.

From the *Herald*, August, 1899.

Lettre Ouverte a M. Marcel Prevost.

A Monsieur Marcel Prévost:-

Après avoir lu votre article d'hier en tête du Herald, je sens le besoin de mettre en garde les Américains contre votre parti-pris.

Cette généreuse nation prend fait et cause pour Dreyfus: on ne peut l'en blâmer, en présence de l'imbroglio dans lequel nous nous débattons. En cela, les Américains sont entraînés par leur presse et leur instinct inné de justice et d'humanité.

Mais que vous, un Français, vous veniez jeter de l'huile sur le feu et dénigrer votre pays, votre drapeau, les chefs de votre armée, dans un journal étranger: c'est une position dans laquelle vous n'auriez pas dû vous mettre. Coppée, l'ardent patriote, ne vous suit pas dans cette voie.

A vous lire, il n'y a que trois hommes respectables dans toute "l'affaire": Dreyfus (à tout seigneur, tout honneur!), Picquart et Bertulus.

La veuve Henry n'est qu'une vile cabotine!

Vos "Lettres de Femmes," si finement étudiées, ne seraient-elles pas de vous?

Un procès est ouvert, et, comme tous les bons Français, votre devoir est d'attendre et de vous incliner devant le verdict.

Si les Américains traduisaient leur général Alger devant une cour-martiale pour lui demander un compte sévère des souffrances de leurs courageux soldats à Cuba, que penseraient-ils si vous veniez les en blâmer? Ils diraient avec raison que vous vous mêlez de ce qui ne vous regarde pas. Je vous garantie aussi que vous ne verriez jamais, dans ce cas, un Américain dénigrer son pays à la première page d'un journal français.

Pendant la guerre hispano-américaine, alors que toute la presse française était hostile aux Etats-Unis, qui combattaient pour l'humanité, avezvous pris votre bonne plume de Tolède pour défendre les opprimés? Je crois, avec une certaine fierté avoir été un des rares Français à protester, à cette même place (20 et 25 mai, 1898), contre l'attitude imbécile de la presse parisienne à cette époque.

Agréez l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distinguées.

CH. M. MARCHAND.

To the Siècle.

M. Marcel Prévost et le Herald.

On nous prie d'insérer la lettre suivante à laquelle le *Herald* (Paris Edition), a refusé l'hospitalité de ses colonnes.

A Monsieur le Rédacteur du Herald:

Monsieur Ch.-M. Marchand, dans une lettre à votre journal, prend à partie M. Marcel Prévost de ce que M. Prévost communique au *Herald* ses impressions personnelles à propos du procès de Rennes.

En même temps, M. Marchand déclare que la presse des deux pays a été, en diverses occasions, mal "aiguillée" et puisque, d'aprés Napoléon I^{er}, la presse est la mesure de l'esprit d'un peuple, il s'ensuit que M. Marchand, à son propre dire, possède, lui-même, un fonds d'intelligence plus grand que celui des deux nations en question, la France et les Etats-Unis.

M. Marchand, en outre, prend sur lui de «classer» la guerre hispano-américaine: c'est assez de besogne et qu'il laisse en paix les Américains qui veulent goûter les comptes-rendus désormais classiques de M. Prévost, car il y a aux Etats-Unis, aussi bien qu'en France, des

THE DREYFUS CASE

hommes qui sont, comme dit Renan, "antérieurs et supérieurs au citoyen" et qui savent parfaitement bien que si de tels comptes-rendus provoquent de pareils commentaires c'est parce que: Hæret lateri letalis arundo.

Agréez, Monsieur, etc.

Un Américain.

Dinard, le 29 août, 1899.

Refused by the Siècle and the Aurore.

La Justice Militaire.

Traduit d'un Journal Américain:

Le Juge. Vous êtes le nègre—je dis le témoin.

Le Témoin. Oui, mon Colonel.

Le Juge. Eh ben! Continuez de l'être—c'est à dire, la vérité, toute la vérité, rien que la vérité.

Le Témoin. Oui, mon Colonel.

Le Juge. Nom, prénom, état?

Le Témoin. Oui, mon Colonel. Sorti d'un mauvais repaire, je suis fils posthume et postiche d'un bohême. Mon état est nécessiteux et je suis fortement enclin à égorger les Français.

Le Juge. Vous voulez dire écorcher le français.

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Le Témoin. Oui mon Colonel, je ne fais que singer le preux qui m'assure qu'avec une poignée de Prussiennes pourries il pourrait purger Paris.

Le Juge. Le noble cœur!

Le Țémoin. Merci, mon Général. A son retour des manœuvres il viendra vous chanter.

Le Juge. Vous voulez dire remercier. Faut toujours se servir des mots qui rappellent les honnêtes gens.

Le Témoin. Oui, mon Général. La bataille de Patay —

Le Juge. Paty du Clam?

Le Témoin. Non, mon Général. Je parle de l'autre bonhomme qui trompette tellement ses propres faits contre les Allemands dans cette bataille que les collégiens assourdis le nomment "le sacré cor."

Le Juge. Au fait, au fait.

Le Témoin. Oui, mon Général. J'ai à vous dire qu'un balayeur de rue en donnant, en face de l'Opéra, une poignée de main à un Monsieur, très bien mis, lui a jobardé que l'on avait trié dans le tombereau d'un vidangeur un bout de papier sur lequel fut écrabouillé le

THE DREYFUS CASE

fait que sa grand' mère, faible d'esprit, avait gueulé dans un crachemer que tout fut sauvé fors l'honneur.

Le Juge. Assez! L'heure de l'absinthe sonne. Que tout le monde soit condamné.

EXEUNT OMNES.

From the Petit Journal, July 6, 1899.

Deux Lettres.

Le prince de Monaco a adressé à Mme Dreyfus l'inconvenante lettre suivante:

Madame,

Vous avez défendu l'honneur de votre mari avec une vaillance admirable, et la justice triomphante vous apporte une réparation due.

Pour aider les honnêtes gens à vous faire oublier tant de douleurs et tant de souffrances, j'invite votre mari à venir chez moi, au château de Marchais, dès que l'œuvre sainte de la justice sera accomplie.

La présence d'un martyr, vers qui la conscience de l'humanité tournait son angoisse, honorera ma maison.

Parmi les sympathies qui vont à vous, madame, il n'y en a pas de plus sincère ni de plus respectueuse que la mienne.

ALBERT,
Prince de Monaco.

Le château de Marchais, résidence d'automne de prince de Monaco, est dans le département de l'Aisne, à vingt kilomètres de Laon.

Le signataire de l'étrange lettre ci-dessus a reçu de M. Boni de Castellane, député, la lettre que voici:

Monseigneur,

Vous venez d'écrire à Mme. Dreyfus une lettre qui provoque l'indignation des bons Français, non pas parce que vous vous adressez à une femme malheureuse (ce sentiment serait respectable), mais parce que vous vous immiscez dans des affaires qui ne regardent en rien Votre Altesse Sérénissime.

Si c'est comme souverain étranger que vous croyez pouvoir influencer des officiers français dans la grave décision qu'ils vont prendre, je vous prie de remarquer que la partie n'est pas égale, car aucun de nous ne voudrait demander raison à un prince en tutelle.

Peut-être, Monseigneur, êtes-vous parent par alliance du capitaine Dreyfus, mais alors, il est prématuré de triompher.

Si c'est, au contraire, comme protecteur de maison de jeu, permettez-moi, Monseigneur, de vous dire que Dreyfus lui-même se passerait de votre intérêt.

Veuillez, Monseigneur, agréer l'assurance des sentiments avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, de

Votre Altesse Sérénissime, le très humble serviteur.

Comte Boni de Castellane,
Député.

From the Siècle, July 13, 1899.

Dans sa lettre, M. Boni de Castellane dit avec horreur:

"Ce que je tiens à affirmer, c'est que je n'ai jamais souscrit à la ligue cosmopolite des droits de l'homme."

Quand M. Boni de Castellane a épousé la fille de Jay Gould, le plus taré des financiers américains, n'a-t-il point fait du cosmopolitisme? et n'est-ce point une partie de cet argent cosmopolite qu'il met au service des factions qui veulent détruire la République?

Jay Gould.

Dinard, 15 juillet.

Monsieur le Rédacteur du Siècle:

Puisque le Siècle parle de "Jay Gould, le plus taré des financiers américains," peut-être ce ne serait pas mal à propos de citer un mot qui, du vivant de ce banquier véreux, courait à son égard à la Bourse de New York.

On le nommait le chevalier d'industrie des Etats-Unis, à telles enseignes, qu'un cambrioleur s'étant introduit une fois chez lui, pendant qu'il cherchait où commencer, Jay Gould, en père de famille prévoyant, lui déroba sa "pince-monseigneur".

Agréez, etc.

Un Américain.

Refused by the Siècle.

Monsieur le Directeur du Siècle:

En dépit de ce que dit le Siècle, à propos de l'affaire de Rodays-Castellane,—"que c'était un vrai guet-apens"—l'on peut constater que les mœurs s'améliorent quand même.

Car c'est de l'histoire acquise que Jay Gould se trouvant gêné d'un associé de tannerie s'en débarassa d'une façon qui ne se décrit guère par la locution—mourir de sa belle mort.

Les filles de ce dernier se trouvèrent sans le sou, mais, grâce à cette manœuvre—quoique plus tard le Major Selover jetât l'admirable homme dans un sous-sol de Wall Street, à cause d'une autre escroquerie—les affaires de Jay Gould prirent

un tel élan qu'il est parvenu à pouvoir poser devant l'histoire comme beau-père de M. Boni de Castellane.

Les églises pullulent en certaines familles. Dans l'Etat de New York l'on en a érigé une à la mémoire de celui que le Siècle a appelé "le plus taré des financiers américains," mais l'on a oublié de faire inscrire sur le fronton les paroles de Juvénal:

Quid enim salvis infamia nummis?

Un Américain.

Paris, février, 1901.

THE LEGION OF HONOR AND WALL STREET.

United States and Decorations.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The list of "decorations" in to-day's Herald marks another step in the act of progression through which the United States is gradually lifting itself out of the "slough" of democratic simplicity.

A letter in the *Herald* once advocated the wearing of a single-breasted frock coat. Soon every self-respecting American will be advised to adopt the "abandoned habits" of royalty, and all successful stockjobbers will think that they, too, can indulge in the pleasure of making morganatic alliances.

A DEMOCRAT.

Paris, January 19, 1901.

An American Makes Some Remarks on the Decorations Recently Given by the French Government.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Do foreigners imagine that Americans have no sense of humor when they propose a list of distinctions, as given in the *Herald*, and that our countrymen do not know that every Frenchman of common sense carries an umbrella when there is a question of a "shower of decorations"?

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, according to your paper, has been made an "officer of the Legion of Honor" because of his "exhibit of American precious stones" at the Paris Exposition.

One of Mr. Morgan's associates, Mr. Jas. J. Hill, (I quote the *Herald* of New York City,) "carries carelessly in his pockets great handfuls of beautiful jewels, rare glittering jems &c. &c." The law of proportion should therefore make "Jim" a "grand cross".

Another associate, Mr. E. H. Harriman, takes a whole cargo of Professors to Alaska but has to wait until they "thresh out" their reports. The "Legion of Honor" cannot have Mr. Harriman. Philology has "mark'd him for her own".

It is to be hoped that ostentation has not so gangrened the American body politic that there

THE LEGION OF HONOR AND WALL STREET

can be found men willing to aid in establishing a nobility of the chequebook, and that the men of note on your list will decline the proffered temptation.

If they have need of courage, let them remember Frederick the Great's decision: "Les titres ne sont que les décorations des sots; les grands hommes n'ont besoin que de leurs noms."

AN AMERICAN.

Paris, January 19, 1901.

A Few Remarks Signed An American, but Which Read Like An Irishman's Tirade.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald* some twenty-seven years ago announced to an astonished world that, from correspondence found in a "recently opened" Egyptian tomb, it was proved beyond doubt that Mrs. Potiphar had been grievously maligned, and that the garment, which the snickering Joseph produced as a proof of his conduct, had been carefully dropped before he entered the estimable lady's boudoir.

However, the name Joseph has always been associated with the term "modesty," but, since Mr. Chamberlain's last speech on Imperialism, it is to be feared that the connection must be severed.

That Germany and England should pursue not a common—but what Lord Salisbury, that master of the English language, calls a "mutual"

object, must surprise no one. "Ils s'entendent comme deux larrons en foire."

But does Mr. Chamberlain seriously think he can beguile Americans with his platitudes? If ever that little island, which Michelet describes as lying on the map like a shark, with its mouth pointed towards the Continent as if to devour it, should, by reason of the rapidly accumulating hostility of the rest of the world, disappear, the gentleman says that British policy will be perpetuated by the American cousin. As Mr. Chamberlain is fond of quotations, let him recall what Dr. Johnson said to Hannah More: "That she should remember what her flattery was worth before she attempted to choke him with it."

Americans are now, to their sorrow, learning in the Philippines what Imperialism really is. They also know that, thanks to Imperialism, England controls India in the same way in which the negro minstrel comically said he held his enemy down—with his nose firmly inserted between the fellow's teeth—and that to-day Ireland is as full of "rough, rug-headed kern" as in the time of Richard the Second.

Let Mr. Chamberlain keep his verbosity for his own "shop-keeping" countrymen. If he thinks he can persuade them that man is not the prod-

uct of soil and climate, but simply designed by his Creator to serve as a buyer of English merchandise, why it is their own affair. But if one will consult the leading journals of the United States he will find many and significant references to what Napoleon also said of Metternich, "That he was almost a statesman, because he was such a first-class liar."

AN AMERICAN.

Paris, October 28, 1900.

The Voice of the Mugwump.

To the Editor of the Herald:

If the *Herald* writes any more "Cleveland" articles, it will incur the adverse criticisms of the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. Disraeli, when asked to explain his success near the Throne, said: "Flattery by the shovelful." Mr. Chamberlain is evidently following the same plan in regard to Americans.

Every one in the United States with any intelligence—and this latter term comprises the whole country except the New York Sun—knows that the Spanish war was precipitated by nameless "yellow journals"; but the honorable

gentleman says it was undertaken "for justice and humanity", and it only remains to ask if he is as "well posted" on the Transvaal question.

A DOUBTER.

Paris, 1900.

Different Kinds of Josephs.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Thank heaven, Mr. Chamberlain has made a speech without gushing over the "American cousin"! and one need not think of General Porter's famous retort to Mr. Depew: "Put one of his speeches in the slot and up comes your dinner."

We once had a Joseph of our own in New York city. He was a "bunco-steerer," and his sobriquet was "Hungry Joe."

He is now in Heaven. Time will do the same thing for poor old England. A joint epitaph might read: "Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it."

An American.

Paris, October 30, 1901.

England's Misfortunes.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Carlyle, speaking of Disraeli, asked: "How long will England let this jumping-jack tread on her naked belly?"

And with the heart-breaking slaughter of brave men on both sides in South Africa one asks: How long will the England of John Hampden and Wilberforce rest under the lash of this pinch-beck imitation of the Duke of Alva, the bloodless Chamberlain?

A NEW YORK DUTCHMAN.

Paris, November 2, 1901.

Mr. Chamberlain and the Times.

The leader on Mr. Chamberlain in the London *Times* of to-day is easily understood when it is explained that the paper in question is the recognized organ of what is called the "City," a general term which embraces that part of a community described by Fielding: "As usurers, brokers and other thieves of this kind—or that money, which is the common mistress of all cheats."

Then again, it is well known that the *Times*—although, on the authority of Cardinal Manning,

its leaders are written by undergraduates—is owned and controlled by a faction, according to Juvenal:

Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti, Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.

The vile damnum of Tacitus.

One need only, therefore, contrast the bald assertions of the *Times* that "the City represents the country at large," that "Mr. Chamberlain is at this moment the most popular and the most trusted man in England," that "he, more than any other man, stands for Imperial unity and consolidation", with the declaration of John Stuart Mill: "The greatness of England is now all collective; individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining; and with this our moral and religious philanthropists are perfectly contented. But it was men of another stamp than this that made England what it has been; and men of another stamp will be needed to prevent its decline."

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Paris, Febry. 14, 1902.

Le Temps (19, Febr. 1902) gave the following extract from a letter written by the Field-Marshal, Sir Neville Chamberlain, in reference to the South African War:

"Cependant, je suis incapable de renoncer à mon opinion sur les causes qui ont provoqué les hostilités. Je cloue au mât mon pavillon. Je suis tout à fait indifférent à ce qu'en penseront mes compatriotes."

Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain fell perforated with wounds on three fields of battle, only at the last to be mobbed in England by the "Birmingham" faction.

The London *Times* fails to state if the soldier ever repeated to the politician Junius' apostrophe to the Duke of Bedford: "A name"—honored—'till it was yours."

Dum-Dum Bullets.

To the Editor of the Herald:

There seems to be an inconsistency on the part of the English in regard to the "Dum-Dum" bullet. Its use was justified as preventing "rushes," but it is well known that the Boers fight singly and at long distances. With the war against Spain, which, it is now seen, was premeditated spoliation by the United States, and with organized inhumanity, as set forth by The Hague Conference, to be put in practice by the British, the Anglo-Saxon is making a fine record after nineteen hundred years of the reign of mercy.

An Irishman.

Paris, July 14, 1899.

"A Blaspheming Frenchman Is a More Pleasing Sight for the Divinity than a Praying Englishman."

To the Editor of the Herald:

A letter received from a British officer in the Transvaal confirms, by some of its details, the

justness of the *Herald's* comments upon the English conduct of the war in South Africa.

This officer writes that his orders are to drive away all the cattle from the farms he visits. And he adds: "It is no work for a gentleman, I assure you. In some cases, where there are weeping women and children, I cannot find it in my heart to take every animal, for if there is not one left with which the poor creatures can do their spring ploughing, they must all die of starvation."

At the moment when these turpitudes are taking place, there is neither protest nor reference on the part of that representative paper, the London *Times*.

On the contrary, its columns are full of discussions on ritualism and the position of the bishops in regard to the clergy, as if any possible solution of these questions could, in any way, affect the personal worth of an honest man.

Well did Heine, when he became acquainted with British characteristics, exclaim: "I am firmly convinced that a blaspheming Frenchman is a more pleasing sight for the Divinity than a praying Englishman."

Nomad.

Dinard, August 27, 1900.

A British "Rear-Guard Action."

To the Editor of the Herald:

Why does not Reuter's Agency buy a dictionary? It says in to-day's *Herald*: "Crewe's column, attacked, only extricated itself by an arduous rear action." Americans, more concise, called such an event in the war of Secession, "being badly demoralized." Webster defines it: "ran away."

Paris, February 11, 1901.

From the Herald.

A Pointer for "Pro-Boer."

To the Editor of the Herald:

Why do you allow "Pro-Boer" to make an ass of himself in print, as he has in your issue of yesterday? He did not serve in the War of Secession, or he would have known that there are such things as rearguard actions, and they by no means can be described as "running away."

New Jersey.

Nice, February 18, 1901.

From the Herald.

* * * * * *

If "Pro-Boer" was a soldier, he would know that to fight a rearguard action successfully requires the steadiest and most perfectly disciplined troops.

British Colonel.

Cannes, February 18, 1901.

From the Herald.

Rear-Guard Actions.

If "Pro-Boer" was a soldier he would know that to fight a rear-guard action successfully requires the steadiest and most highly disciplined troops possible. Wellington spoke in terms of the highest praise of the great Ney, when he described him as "that great master of rear-guards."

BRITISH COLONEE.

Paris, February 28, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

The *Herald* as a fair paper owes me full space.

"New Jersey's" military letter indicates that

he must have served in the Northern army as a "bounty jumper."

If there were fewer of the "type" of the "British Colonel", so safely housed at Cannes, Mr. Brodrick would not have "opposed the courtmartial."

A "Paris British Colonel" fails to explain why Wellington allowed the "great Ney" to be shot after promising full amnesty to "all in the 'hundred days'."

Let others, also "not soldiers", imagine Paardberg: "A field of battle like a saucer, with English troops around the rim, firing into a centre where women and children, driven from their hiding places by the fumes of sulphur were shot down without any means of resistance."

Humanity is paying a revolting price for Mr. Chamberlain's Colonial policy; but British "honor", as shown by the Jameson raid, had to be avenged.

A PRO-BOER.

Paris, March, 1901.

Refused by the Evening Post.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir: Lord Kitchener's proclamation in South Africa lends great interest to a "proclamation,"

by George the Third, which has just been found among the papers of one of the oldest families in Boston:

Whereas, The people of my city of Boston have, of late, manifested a tendency to abandon the use of tea as a "beverage", and, by their intemperate action in destroying a cargo of the same, and by paying, without a murmur, a corresponding tax on molasses, have conclusively shown that they have taken very strongly to Medford rum.

Whereas, It is the "plain duty" of one, who governs England with such force of mentality that he does not know how "they" get an apple into a dumpling, to prevent a young and intellectually-modest community from giving way to hysteria and drunkenness, vices that nowhere exist in His Majesty's own dominions.

Whereas, His fat-witted Royalty is extremely "bored" with the petty, continued and absolutely illogical resistance of one Washington, who had the poor taste to begin his military career by witnessing a defeat of my troops somewhere near a smokehole called Quaysville, future source of wealth to a Scotchman named Carnegie.

Whereas, The disposition to evade taxes might

serve as a pernicious example to some subsequent politician.

Whereas, It has been proved that these Godfearing Puritans have taken the gravestones belonging to my faithful but fugitive Loyalists, have erased the names and appropriated the coats-ofarms thereon.

I, therefore, the lineal "descendant" of a childless "ancestor", Edward the Confessor, and assuming the title, given to me in the London clubs, of "Edward the Caresser"*, do hereby command the same Bostonians to remain docile subjects of my pleasure, so that hereafter they may not attempt to combine the impossible conditions of "aping the English" and being anti-Imperialistic at the same time.

Iconoclastic London clubs will now probably name Edward, rex, the "Masher". The annals of longevity offer only one parallel case; that of an old man of 83 in Paris, who brought built for libel because a fair neighbor called him "coureur".

^{*} The London Times, February 24, 1902, speaking of the King's visit to Bass' Brewery said:

[&]quot;It was here that the King started a special brew, which will be known as the King's ale, and being of extra strength and quality, is not to be put on the market, but to be reserved for special occasions. His Majesty simply pulled a lever, which allowed the malt to slip through a sluice into the mash tub."

Given by my foot this day of August.

Countersigned by my universally beloved Chamberlain.

HISTORICUS.

New York, August, 1901.

Ne ment pas qui veut.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald renders such great service to the American public at large that it would be ungracious to blame it for not being a school of political morality; but when it lends its worldwide publicity to the statement of the London "Telegraph," that the Boer war "has not alienated from us a single American of knowledge and standing," then it would seem to be aiding Mr. Chamberlain and the British press in their effort to convince Europe of American sympathy with England in its unholy South African conquest.

Napoleon said that the press of a nation was the measure of its opinion. Let the "Telegraph" then name a single great paper in the United States—taking the Herald, Evening Post, New York Times, Philadelphia Ledger and Boston Transcript—which has not repeatedly urged that the Boer war was undertaken by England to secure a more economical working of the Rand mines, through

enforced or slave labor, objected to by the Boers (an uninteresting people), or, as Sir William Harcourt said in the House of Commons, because of "auri sacra fames."

And it is in order for Americans of heart, tenacity and courage to proclaim that the declarations of American policy by Mr. Chamberlain and the "Telegraph" are simply additional proofs of the force of La Fontaine's dictum: "Ne ment pas qui veut."

An American.

Paris, November 28, 1901.

"A Landlubber" Passes Facetious Criticism on Captain
Mahan's Latest Article.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Captain "Ipse Dixit" Mahan, in his article in the *National Review* again comes to the relief of the British Empire, and assures the pachydermatous Mr. Chamberlain that the prestige of England has been "increased" all over the world, and informs the probably astonished Mr. Brodrick that England has 300,000 highly disciplined troops.

As Captain Mahan's single naval exploit—at Valparaiso—nearly embroiled two "land forces,"

Chili and the United States,—a war which would have been mainly fought as M. Gaston de Castellane, according to the French papers, the other day cuffed a man, viz., by telegraph—why, Captain Mahan's theories seem better than his practice.

The following extract from a Fourth of July oration will show our former "relatives across the sea," now "sister's" children ("vide" Chamberlain), that the gallant captain is not our only naval expert: "What," said the Western "statesman," "what constitutes the glory of Great Britain? Her flag. And what enables her to fly that proud emblem? Her fleet. And what permits her to float that great fleet? The ocean. And what is the source of supply of the ocean? The Mississippi River. Turn the Mississippi River into the Mammoth Cave and you will leave the British navy floundering in the mud."

A LANDLUBBER.

Paris, December 2, 1901.

You Take a Joke Too Seriously!

To the Editor of the Herald:

As one who has done his little bit in this present South African campaign towards upholding the honor and prestige of "Old England,"

I beg to reply to "Landlubber," who writes in your estimable paper to-day criticizing Captain Mahan and his estimate of the amount of available troops in England.

"Landlubber" can take it from me that the gallant captain underestimates the number, and if he had put 500,000 he would be nearer the mark.

Perhaps "Landlubber," who tries a sneer at Chamberlain and Brodrick, can inform me why his country (his letter shows he is from the United States) is still unable to conquer the handful of rebels in the Philippine Islands. Surely a country whose principal river supplies the water necessary for British warships to float ought to have finished such a "trifling" job before now!

Erin-Go-Bragh.

Paris, December 3, 1901.

Go on the Same Tack.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As the *Herald* intimates, "Erin-Go-Bragh" is as fresh as were Adam and Eve before the police made them buy additional clothing.

"Erin-Go-Bragh" did not quite "see double" Captain Mahan's estimate, but his letter is proof

of the fact that he is putting to a practical test his countryman's theory; that a bottle of water well corked will last a long time.

A LANDLUBBER.

Paris, December, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

For those who know the United States it is safe to say that if Governor Yates of Illinois succeeds in his appeal for the Boer reconcentrados, he will be the next President.

There are millions of Americans—over six millions of Democratic voters—who, bitterly opposed to war as a rule, are ready to join the Continent of Europe in giving a military application to the advice of Voltaire: Ecrasez l'Infâme.

Either the United States could "turn the Gulf Stream into the Mammoth cave" and thereby reduce England in a few hours to her former state in the glacial period, or better still, it could stop grain shipments.

A high authority has stated that Great Britain has only a six weeks' supply of cereals, and as England is like an oyster—all stomach and no

heart—a simple embargo would permit the United States to assert—Peace hath its victories no less than war.*

Observer.

Paris, December, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

Scheepers.

To the Editor of the Herald:

A favorite theme with writers of tragedy is the story of the woman who sacrificed her virtue

* From a speech of Mr. Carnegie in the New York Times Febry. 15, 1902:

I remember that Gladstone asked me, at the time of the Venezuelan dispute, if our people were not affected by the warlike naval preparations then made by England.

"No," I replied. "In that way you are simply making enemies on the Continent. The American people do not care if you build a thousand vessels."

"Why not?" he asked in surprise. "We could send a fleet to blockade all your ports."

"Yes, but you would have no chance to do so. Before you could have time to do that we could establish a blockade of our own. The President would simply issue a decree of non-exportation, and the result would be that within three weeks you would be starving."

It is a fact, gentlemen. Let our export of foodstuffs be reduced by only 10 per cent. and prices in Europe would double, while reduce them 50 per cent. and the starving people of the nation that had made war with the United States would quickly force peace upon their Government.

to save her husband's life, only to be forced to witness the loved one's death.

But to take a captured invalid, to give him high professional skill, tender nursing, nutritious food—like a Strasburg goose fattened for killing—with a daily hospital chart before his eyes to show him how much more blood there was to make the puddle when he was shot; why, it only remains to tear down the new statue to Victor Hugo and replace it with Lord Kitchener's.*

For the poet's imagination pales before that of the English Commander.

Observer.

Paris, January 26, 1902.

Anglo-Saxon Enterprise.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Certainly, the Anglo-Saxon is marching from triumph to triumph.

Papers report that De Wet's wife, having re-

* Le Temps (19, Febry. 1902) gave the following extract from a letter written by Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain: "Je considère vraiment avec honte beaucoup des actes accomplis sur l'ordre du général Kitchener. Cet homme semble incapable d'aucun sentiment d'humanité dans la guerre. Il est heureux pour l'honneur des armes britanniques que notre histoire n'ait encore jamais eu de commandant en chef dans son genre..."

fused to receive English succor, has, in consequence, been sent to a concentration camp with her eight children, one of whom is already dead.

A cable from Manila informs an admiring world that Sergeant Kichlin and eight privates of the United States Army have succeeded in taking a Filipe woman prisoner.

Soon we ought to get the following despatch: "Brilliant Night Attack. A Filipino infant captured in its cradle by a regiment of American dragoons. The feat is the more remarkable as the baby had just been weaned."

An Irishman.

Paris, January, 1902.

Definition of a "Good Boer."

To the Editor of the Herald:

Englishmen are considered abrupt in manner, but if their present evolution continues they will certainly have a monopoly of courtesy.

Witness the partly concealed grimace with which they accepted Mr. Cleveland's after-dinner Venezuela Message. It is true that, as a consequence of this message, Mr. Cleveland will now be chiefly known to history as the only President of the United States who could button the collar

and then slip his shirt over his head, the "pyramid of statesmen."

Then the gentle concession of the Nicaragua Canal.

Now, flattery cements kinship, and "our cousins" in South Africa are copying General Sheridan's Indian recipe: "There is only one good Boer, and that a dead one."

Despite "peace" reports, Boers will continue to misquote Macaulay's idol, Barère, and say:

"England, with all thy faults, I hate thee still."

A NEW YORK DUTCHMAN.

Paris, January 31, 1902.

England's Aristocracy.

Mr. Winston Churchill's protest in the House of Commons, that the Government should not pay for "useless" telegrams in regard to the sequestration of De Wet's wife, leads one to infer that his ancestor, through whom he claims descent from Marlborough, must have been born several years after his father, the great duke, had fallen into hopeless imbecility. To revise Byron:

The idiot father of "an idiot Boy."

However, the poverty of De Wet's wife could not, under any circumstances, be an alluring bait to one of a family whose founder was thus referred to by Thackeray: "I remember hearing Mr. Congreve say of my Lord Marlborough that the reason why my Lord was so successful with women as a young man was because he took money of them! 'There are few men who will make such a sacrifice for them', says Mr. Congreve."

OBSERVER.

Paris, Febry 12, 1902.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald* is losing its eyesight. It has failed to note that there is a grave omission on the new English "sovereign."

William the Conqueror firmly established the very respectable title: King of England. But the "yellow vested, Macassar oiled" Disraeli thought this not pompous enough and added: Emperor of India.

Now Mr. Chamberlain, who can make Empires faster than J. Cæsar, Napoleon and "Whiteley, the Universal Provider," all three combined, and

jealous, perhaps, of the fame of a South African expander has failed to have King Edward's coin stamped: The Colossus of Rhodes.

A NUMISMATIST.

Paris, Febry 4, 1902.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I'm only a bartender, but I've education enough to read the *Herald* letters and I like 'em. They 're spicy. They 're like the red pepper I put in whiskey to please Western customers.

The English who drink in my place get poetical late at night and call Kitchener "serpent of old Nile", and say he is a Boa Constrictor. But the boys tell me that the Boers are wiry chaps and break through the fences. I don't know how it all is, but I believe the "scurvy politicians" who kiss cobble stones in New York and drink London fog for cocktails are talking again. I only remember one speech when I was a young 'un and if the *Herald* wants it here it is:

"Where", said a Western orator in a three-sided election, "where was Henry Clay at the battle of New Orleans? Playing poker on a Mississippi steamboat and betting \$500 on a pair of

deuces. The devil take him! Where was John Adams at the battle of New Orleans? In France, ogling the ladies and drinking champagne out of golden goblets. The devil take him! Where was General Jackson at the battle of New Orleans? Up to his middle in water and mud giving the British—fits. God bless him!"

AN Ex-GAMBLER.

Paris, March, 1902.

Napoleon's Shopkeepers.

Burke proclaimed that "political reason is a computing principle." Let us compute.

First as to Lord Salisbury's "security". What "security" can there be in the possession of a country without water for agriculture, where the average American drinks methylated spirit* for his "beverage," and where the Boa Constrictors (no disrespect to Kitchener's block houses), join head and tail, form themselves into hoops and roll after you!

^{*} Even this is better than the "whiskey" furnished to the Indians by the United States Agents. This "extinguisher," consisting of turpentine mixed with red paint, has done its work so well, that to-day only a few loathsome units remain of the Comanches that numbered some 40.000 warriors in 1854.

But Mr. Chamberlain is the directing figure in the Boer war and, apart from that "sin" by which fell the angels, is, through commercial instinct, naturally allured by the financial results.

These are: According to Hammond, (lecture at Yale College), the recognized mining authority, there are in the Transvaal gold mines ("duration 30 years"), a value of some 600 million pounds Stg. Le Temps (Febry. 20,) in a detailed statement shows the cost of the war, so far, as 200 million pounds Stg.; a burden to be borne by the tax-payers, as the mine owners, mostly foreigners, receive the profits.

This sum of 200 millions, at 30/0 for the life of a modern loan, say 65 years, gives 390 million pounds Stg. or in all 590 million pounds Stg. as the debit item of the war—thereby making the war—un coup d'épée dans l'eau!

England has been governed by Walpole the briber, North the booby, Gladstone the casuist; it required the imagination of Napoleon to suppose that she would accept the guidance of a blundering accountant.

OBSERVER.

Paris, Febry. 1902.

Auri Sacra Fames.

When the Austrian General Heynau, who had flogged and maltreated women and children in the Hungarian insurrection of 1848, visited London, on entering the brewery of Barclay and Perkins the workingmen there suddenly closed the doors, took him, stripped him, tied him to a post and lashed him to their heart's content.

Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Kitchener would, of course, now suffer no personal indignity in the United States. But it is far away from concealed contempt to sending exponents of mushroom wealth to take part in a ceremony where, fortunately for the honor of their country, their identity will be lost among a crowd of nobles dressed, like circus people, in spangles.

"Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell," but the Jade is at present speculating in Wall Street, and the land once called "the hope of the oppressed" is now "like an Egyptian pitcher of tamed vipers, each struggling to get its head above the others" in its efforts to secure social recognition.

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Paris, Febry. 1902.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

President Kruger is said to have made the following commentary on hearing of Mr. Rhodes' death:

The Lord gave.

The Lord hath taken away.

Blessed be the name of the Lord!

It is safe to say that no such keen—if involuntary—personal thrust has been made since a courteous English host addressed Franklin as "the man of three letters."

OBSERVER.

Paris, March 27, 1902.

A Censorius Materialist.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In view of "the unspeakable trash published in memory of the Queen"—the poetry especially being "corrugated gush"—and of the fact that the burial of a "poor mortal" is used as an advertisement of war and Imperialism—the body being carried "on a gun-carriage with rubbertire wheels"—perhaps the *Herald*, which is nothing if not "opportuniste," will consent to reprint Voltaire's definition: "Les honneurs de la sépulture: Pourrir avec tous les gueux du quartier dans le coin d'un vilain cimetière?" A MATERIALIST.

Paris, February 2, 1901.

From the Herald.

Three Questions.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I. Does the *Herald* think that the "Censorious Materialist" of February 2 is a relative of the talented "Flàneur" of the same date?

- 2. Would Mr. Alfred Austin, the Poet Laureate of England, cede his office to the talented "Flâneur"?
- 3. Would the "Censorious Materialist" produce something "material," instead of quoting the lines of a master the "laces of whose shoes he is unworthy to unloose"?

 A SIMPLE READER.

Hôtel du Quirinal, Rome, February 7, 1901.

They Are All Published in Full to Show What an Industrious Man "A Materialist" Is.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Simple Reader" being the only one who ever fully appreciated Voltaire, and "doing in Rome as the Romans do," will, perhaps, let others quote Foxley:—

For light on this I often used to grope, How men with brains could bow before the Pope; But kindly Mr. Mallock now explains; The Pope's disciples do not use their brains.

A MATERIALIST.

Paris, February 13, 1901.

Not for publication.—If the *Herald* objects to the above, perhaps this:—

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Simple Reader" being the only sutor who ever entirely appreciated Voltaire, his letter is evidently framed after Rabelais' advice: "That one does not know what a genuine toothache is until he has been bitten by a dog."

A MATERIALIST.

Paris, February 13, 1901.

Not for publication.—Or this:—

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Simple Reader" being the only one who ever fully appreciated Voltaire, and evidently incapable of perceiving the naked truth, must have written the pawn-broker's sign: "I. Simpkins having cast off clothing of every description solicits an early call."

A MATERIALIST.

Paris, February 13, 1901.

Not for publication.—Or this:—

To the Editor of the Herald:

Apologizing to "Flâneur"—a stranger—the writer admits that probably only too often he,

himself, ignores Montaigne's maxim: "That one can make a fool of himself in anything but poetry."

But "Simple Reader's" simile is unhappy, for the law of atavism must make him much more familiar with the toe of Voltaire's boot.

A MATERIALIST.

Paris, February 13, 1901.

From the Herald.

Suggestion to "Materialist."

To the Editor of the Herald:

The simple reader respectfully suggests that as no original "matter" has yet been produced by "Materialist," he should change his literary pseudonym for one more appropriate in his case—i. e., "A Literary Pickpocket."

A SIMPLE READER.

Rome, February 22, 1901.

Chin-Chin's Perspicacity.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Simple Reader's" "superiors" had better call him off, or else follow the plan indicated in the reply of Chin-Chin, a Chinese merchant, who, on

being told that a childless old man, after twenty years of married life in Hong-Kong, had, on settling in America, been presented with a fine boy, remarked: "Some goodee friend helpee he."

A MATERIALIST.

Paris, February 26, 1901.

Perfidious Albion.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Von Vizine, a Russian traveller of the eighteenth century, wrote that "when England is discontented with the state of her own affairs she declares war against France."

From the day that Prince Caraccioli's body rose in the Bay of Naples, the course of England in regard to foreign nations has been one of unmitigated rapine and slaughter. For proof: the Crimean war, in which nearly a million of lives were sacrificed because England, to aid "free trade," did the bidding of a pinchbeck French Emperor. Mr. Balfour may well shed crocodile tears; but now it is not Egypt, where 17,000 natives were killed in one battle, many being left "to drag their slow length along" to a distant river. No! It is "auri sacra fames" and the world is fast adopting Heine's theory: that the ocean would swallow up that little island but for fear of being seasick.

The *Herald* publishes willingly attacks upon the United States; it remains to be seen, in view of its reputed large English clientèle, whether it is sufficiently independent to publish this.

AN IRISHMAN.

Paris, September 30, 1899.

England's Policy Towards America.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald protested against the machinations of the Times' New York correspondent, but why does it let the Chronicle vilify us at will by saying: "The Senate should have taken the moment of our necessity to repudiate her solemn agreement, etc."? Every spontaneous act of England towards the United States has been characteristic of her own selfish policy—the employment of Indians and Hessians in 1776-83; the burning of Washington in 1814; her well-known duplicity in the Oregon demarcation of 1840-2; her openly avowed sympathy with the Rebellion, and, lastly, the "moral encouragement," by which our country has involved itself so deeply in the Philippine nettle that, for a time at least, Canada is comparatively safe. AN AMERICAN.

Paris, February 23, 1901.

From the Herald.

Letter from "New Orleans" (not kept) advising Americans to wear small national flags so as to escape the indignities heaped upon Englishmen everywhere on the continent.

From the Herald.

BRITONS PROTEST.

Three Writers Who Are Sure that Americans Never, Never Would Be Taken for English People.

FROM BRITON No. 1.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As one who has lived and travelled on the Continent during the last ten years continuously, I may claim, in the elegant phraseology of the wise young man from New Orleans, to have also "been round Europe considerably," and I agree with him that as a nation we are detested abroad. But individually I think not. I have invariably met with courtesy and civility, and, as far as I can ascertain from friends, it is most unusual for Britons to be treated otherwise.

Hence I fear that no amount of flag-carrying will help this "wise young man". I fear the fault

lies in the man, not the nationality. I have met the type often, alas! and the Britons would indeed be thankful if he, and those like him, could arrange for a man to go on ahead of them with a big, big flag, similar to those used not long since before steam traction engines.

We could get out of his way in time then. As it is, we have to wait till he is close before we discover his dangerous propinquity.

A BRITON.

Pau, April 7, 1901.

FROM BRITON No. 2.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"New Orleans'" idea that all Americans should wear flags in their buttonholes to prevent them being taken for Englishmen is very funny—almost too funny for words. Does he really imagine that he has ever been taken for one? Were it possible for him so to disguise himself, he would soon become aware that there are others besides Englishmen who are not popular on the Continent.

Does he not know that, with but few exceptions, all Americans bear constantly about with them

an unmistakable badge of their nationality? I am not saying this in any unfriendly spirit, as I have good American friends. I am not referring to the toes of their boots, a generally unmistakable sign, but to the fact that their speech betrayeth them.

Briton.

Paris, April 9, 1901.

From Briton No. 3.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I see in the Herald of April 6 a letter signed "New Orleans," urging Americans abroad to decorate themselves with American flags in order not to be mistaken for Englishmen. Let "New Orleans" take heart of grace, the danger is slight. The usual traveling American has manners too bad for him to be taken for other than what he is.

AN OBSERVER.

Paris, April 9, 1901.

To the Editor of the Herald:

If "Briton No. 1" would travel less and read more, he would find that Mérimée describes Englishmen as "individuellement bêtes et en masse un peuple admirable.".

"Briton No. 2" intimates that Englishmen carry about with them an atmosphere of their own. It is to be hoped that it is always a good one.

But all your "Britons" give themselves unnecessary publicity in regard to "New Orleans." On January 8, 1815, a lot of "Britons" tried so unsuccessfully to get into the city of that name that over 3,000 of them became permanent residents of the soil.

A profound study of the nation's characteristics convinces me that the much-despised "'Arry" is the ultimate type of English courtesy and mental development. Where I have had to "suffer" others of the same race I have often found it a very good rule to put them in barrels and talk to them through the bung hole.

A LOUISIANA NEGRO.

Paris, April 12, 1901.

From the Herald.

Advice to "Flaneur."

To the Editor of the Herald:

You would oblige several daily readers of your paper by publishing the following: —

We have seen only of late so much in your

paper about a certain party signing himself "Flâneur," who thinks Some of us are on to his tricks and would therefore advise him to attend more strictly to his own business. . . . or the time might come when he wished he had never commenced having his name appear in your paper. This is only a little good advice free of charge.

King.

Paris, March 9, 1901.

From Tenderfoot to King.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald might advise the warlike syndicate that composed the letter signed "King" that they are in a law-abiding country and not in the bludgeon-ruled Trafalgar-square, nor in Terre Haute, Indiana, where it took, some three thousand men of their stamp [of courage] to pound to death an inoffensive negro.

It does not require much pluck for a band to "taunt him with all the license of ink," but it is dangerous in France to attempt to follow, in a peculiar way, Victor Hugo's line:—

"Chantez. — — —"

A SEEMING TENDERFOOT.

Paris, March 10, 1901.

From the Herald.

"Onto His Tricks."

Au Redacteur du Herald:

Je m'intéresse beaucoup aux mœurs américaines, et je lis avec assiduité votre admirable journal, afin de me tenir au courant sur tout ce qui se passe parmi votre grand peuple. Je viens de lire avec un plaisir exquis la lettre signée "King," dont je relève la haute politesse, la courtoisie, et la façon délicate de se faire comprendre tout d'un coup—comme qui dirait d'un coup de massue. Il y a une expression pourtant qui m'est obscure. "King" dit, en parlant d'un certain "Flâneur," "We are onto his tricks," Qu'est ce que ça signifie?

PANURGE.

Paris, le 31 mars, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

Monsieur.

Cest avec la mort dans l'âme que je constate, en parcourant les lettres parues dans votre admirable journal, que le bonhomme Panurge s'est fait un de ses propres moutons en laissant s'écouler deux semaines avant de vouloir faire acte de présence.

Et quoique le compère soit "au courant sur" "mœurs américaines," "façon délicate" et "un coup de massue," sa lettre fait voir que déjà, grâce à son cœur, il sait porter un coup de Jarnac.

Pour mettre fin à cet assaut de "courtoisie" permettez-moi, Monsieur, une observation: quel-quefois la locution — ontohistricks — signifie l'action d'un tas de roquets qui n'osent guère attaquer qu'en masse et par derrière.

FRÈRE JEAN.

Paris, le 7 avril, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Consistency" is a "jewel" that the Colossus of Rhodes has not thus far discovered in its South African excavations.

The Lord Chancellor of England declares in the House of Lords that when war exists there is a "dislocation of society," or "the real English of the matter is" that there is no law at all. But war is actually going on, and yet this the highest law officer of the crown is drawing his salary with a regularity that would bring a blush to the cheek of the erstwhile vendor of putrid

meat who is now supplying the British army with food!

Still what a genius for war! The Lord Chancellor claims that it is "skulking" to take advantage of natural positions, and seems to think that every self-respecting Boer ought to place himself before a target in front of an English regiment armed with Lee-Metfords and a few maxims; and that after a week's "potting" the clodhopper should make a sworn affidavit that he had had enough and go away!

Much is said of "weighty decisions" and the "solemnity of justice", but where, says Montaigne, can one find weight and solemnity so well combined as in a jackass!

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

March, 1902.

England, Germany and France.

Now that the United States is, through its "scurvy politicians", being poisoned with the transparent Anglo-Saxon flattery of Mr. Chamberlain, the London *Times* and German rulers, Americans can find an explanation of English obsequiousness in the remark of the Maréchal de Villeroi, à propos de Law: Il faut tenir le pot de

chambre aux ministres tant qu'ils sont en place, et le leur verser sur la tête quand ils n'y sont plus.

And Germany's action in sending Prince Henry to remove the impression caused by Manila incidents reminds one of the worthy being spoken of by Beaumarchais, "who when you spat in his face asked permission to wipe it off with your foot."

The aid given us by France during our Revolution was, to our credit, a confirmation of the adage: Your friends you make yourself, your relatives are imposed upon you by nature.

An American.

Paris, Febry. 1902.

CHINA.

China Wants to Be Left Alone.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald publishes all kinds of letters, perhaps it will publish mine. I have read in American journals that, in 1886, the United States cruelly abandoned 100,000 of my countrymen to the tender mercies of Western desperadoes who slaughtered them without pity. I have also read that, in the Matabele campaign, the English, by means of dynamite, blew up the gullies where the natives had hidden, to the effect that, for days, the roads in the vicinity were impassable, because of the sickening odor of burnt flesh; and, that in the conquest of Algeria, the Maréchal Bugeaud, finding 800 poor devils in a cave, built a fire at its mouth and stifled them all.

As to missionaries, a fair type is the Englishman Stokes, whom a Belgian officer hanged, and properly hanged, for supplying the savages with muskets and rum. My country protested against

the importation of opium—that brutalizing drug—but England forced its introduction at the cannon's mouth. "Civilization" should not, therefore, judge too hastily what is merely a sporadic ebullition of popular excitement, due to the fact that China, never intent on foreign aggrandizement, has remained self-concentrated and undisciplined, or, to use the words of my grand compatriot, Marquess Tseng, "has for centuries been sleeping in the vacuous vortex of the storm of forces wildly whirling around her."

A Chinaman.

Paris, July 9, 1900.

Is This Biliousness?

To the Editor of the Herald:

It would seem for the moment as if China could say to the rest of the world: "'I do bite my thumb' at you."

With the war upon "children," as General Merritt described the Filipinos, and with the destruction of Finnish liberties, the United States and Russia can be regarded as sister nations; one in fibre, purpose and action, and simply great because of their numbers.

CHINA

England has in South Africa a force of 200,000 men, melting away, to be sure, with enteric fever, but engaged in an attempt to restore her prestige by the singular process of attacking a motley band of some 35,000 clodhoppers, shown, through the Cronje surrender, to be without a commissariat, and to have an equipment for each man of one rifle and an umbrella.

By reason of the effort of an ex-policeman and a Spanish demi-bourgeoise to maintain their son on an Imperial throne, Germany and France have for thirty years stood armed to the teeth—their people ground down with taxes—with the result that the "mailed fist" has no money, and the country which monopolizes justice, has no ships with which to send off their troops to die of malaria, oozing up from the paddyfields of the East.

In presence, therefore, of this universal orgie of misgovernment and predatory warfare, known as Christianity, is it strange that China has become confused, and, mistaking aggressive barbarity for legimate defence, has decided to "better the instruction"?

PEREGRINUS.

Paris, July 24, 1900.

From the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In your paper of the 9th inst. there is republished from the "Daily Mail," under the heading "The Duke of Norfolk Creates a Sensation," an article containing almost as many errors as it does statements.

The "Daily Mail's" correspondent can hardly have read the duke's speech, much less have heard it pronounced, as his style of writing would imply, or he would know that the words "restoration of the temporal power" nowhere occur in it.

The speech was a declaration of the unreserved adherence of English Catholics to the principles of full independence for the Pope from any temporal sovereign or State, and of the inherent rights of the Church to untrammelled freedom in the exercise of her apostolic mission.

The sentiments of the speech did not differ from those of the Pope's repeated declarations

and protests, nor from those of the countless resolutions and addresses from Catholic communities throughout all Christendom.

If not directly provoked by the "Tribune's" article, in which the tardy arrival of the English pilgrimage was described to the Italians as a form of protest against the alleged anti-British sympathies of the Vatican and certain Italian Catholic newspapers on the South African war, the duke's speech certainly followed very pat upon this falsehood and effectively demolished it.

The "Mail's" correspondent conveys the impression that the Roman populace, incensed by the duke's language, was only restrained from a popular and hostile demonstration in front of the Hotel di Roma by extraordinary precautions of the police. No one at the Hotel di Roma is aware that any such precautions were taken, and the tranquillity of the Roman people has not been threatened.

If by "people" is meant the Liberal press and the anti-Catholic elements in the city, then the correspondent is, of course, right. But I submit that his description is inexact and misleading.

His confiscation of the *Voce della Verita* and the *Osservatore* is equally fictitious, and the speech has been freely reported in all the

papers. The only suggestion of rioting was made by one of the lesser papers, which sustained that the English should be hissed out of Rome.

This uproar in the Liberal press of Italy, and the Protestant press elsewhere, is the latest demonstration of the falsity of the actual position created for the Papacy by the occupation of Rome.

By the Laws of Guarantees the Vatican is still Papal territory, the Pope still an independent sovereign, free to maintain what relations he may see fit with all the world, and accessible to his spiritual children who come to pay him homage.

Within the Vatican, pilgrims are in no sense "guests" of the Italian monarchy, nor has Italy any more right to occupy itself with "their" speeches than has any other nation.

The phrases "freedom of speech" and "liberty of the press" are constantly in the mouths of the Liberals, and yet any expression of dissent from the abnormal position of the Pope and the Church is perfectly intolerable to these apostles of freedom.

The Duke of Norfolk's speech voices the sentiments of all loyal and well-informed Catholics, including millions of Italians, whose independence of Government favor allows them to avow their

opinions, not to mention unnumbered others to whom government approval and patronage is daily bread and whose mouths are closed.

CONSISTENCY.

Rome, January 12, 1901.

Now, What Do You Think of Yourself? To the Editor of the Herald:

The Herald pretends to be an impartial paper; it remains to be seen if it opens its columns only to those who are saturated with dogma. The point that "Consistency" seems to wish to make is, that the "temporal power" is a question of general application. As long as a personage of the undoubted purity of character of Léon XIII. occupies the Pontifical seat all may be well. But if there should come along a gentleman like Cardinal Del Monte, elected Pope as Jules III. in 1550, who gave the red hat to a lackey because the fellow took such good care of the Pope's favorite monkey!

The previous professional occupation of such a possible successor to St. Peter would be in keeping with Voltaire's dictum: Tant qu'il y aura des fripons et des imbéciles, il y aura des religions.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Paris, January 15, 1901.

Effectiveness of Slang.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The Duke of Norfolk's letter to the *Times*, with reference to the "temporal power," affords a fine opportunity of showing the effectiveness of slang.

"Norfolk" calmly proves that the Pope "only wants the earth."

Paris, January 21, 1901.

SAINT ANTOINE DE PARIS.

Good Will on Earth.

To the Editor of the Herald:

When the *Herald* and the *Matin* have stopped bowing and scraping to each other, perhaps the *Herald* will "let up" on giving the social doings of fashionable drones, "qui se sont donnés la peine de naître," and pay some attention to the political progress being made by the people.

For the London *Times* admits that the chief characteristic of Queen Victoria's reign is the triumph of democracy; the Pope of Rome, in his last Encyclical, speaks of the démocratie chrétiènne, and "Saint Antoine de Paris," who, for a consideration, recovers everything that has been lost, except, of course, common-sense, describes the process of plucking "bipeds without feathers" as "le miracle démocratique."

"Make yourselves honey, and the wasps will devour you." We, "the common herd," have been "honey" long enough; for a time we must

SAINT ANTOINE DE PARIS

become "wasps," but at the present rate of progress we shall soon establish an era of the only true dogma: Goodwill on earth.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Paris, January 30, 1901.

From the Herald.

Advice for "One of the People."

To the Editor of the Herald:

The writer of a letter, signed "One of the People," that appears in to-day's issue of your paper, says that Saint-Antoine de Paris (Saint Antoine de Padua is, probably, meant) "recovers eyverything that is lost, except, of course, common sense." But perhaps your correspondent does not know that perseverance in prayer is one of the conditions for its success. I, therefore, strongly advise "One of the People" to go on praying to Saint Antoine for the recovery of the lost property alluded to and not to write to the Herald again till it is found.

A CATHOLIC READER.

Paris, February 4, 1901.

SAINT ANTOINE DE PARIS

What Does He Mean?

To the Editor of the Herald:

The letter of January 30 was, to quote Dean Swift, "one levelled to the meanest intelligence," and if "Catholic Reader" could not comprehend it, why, it is an affair between himself and his Creator. "Saint-Antoine de Paris" was named (see the Siècle of January 30), and, as "Catholic Reader" does not seem to know of him, his letter is proof of the fact—once charged against "Garter, King at Arms," who got his "armorial bearings" all mixed up—"you don't even understand your own silly business."

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Paris, February 7, 1901.

From the Herald.

Saint-Antoine de Paris.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I should think that whether "One of the People" prays to Saint-Antoine under his new title of "de Paris," or under the older and better-known one of "de Padua," could scarcely prevent the efficacy of the prayer. Still, I am forced to infer from the letter appearing in to-day's issue of your paper that your correspondent has not

SAINT ANTOINE DE PARIS

yet recovered the lost property alluded to in his former letter. But I hope he will be able to see that if I have not sufficient intelligence to understand my own "silly business" I can hardly be expected to comprehend his!

A CATHOLIC READER.

Paris, February 18, 1901.

Time's Changes.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Some one hundred and forty years ago a young man, the Chevalier de La Barre, was broken on the wheel for singing a comic song as a procession of monks went by, some thirty mètres off; but now a corresponding act elicits only a snarling letter in the *Herald*. It is well to note the change, even if it be not admitted by those described by Juvenal as "steriles moriuntur."

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Paris, February 21, 1901.

MR. RUDYARD KIPLING.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald* seems to vie with other journals in publishing details of the personality of Mr. Rudyard Kipling "whose mother," to use American slang, "must have been very fond of children to have raised him": one who, to be more classical, may be described as:

A thwart disnatured torment.

His soldiers are nothing but drunken brutes, and he, although the subject of a female sovereign, has, as an author, persistently tried to degrade the character of woman.

And one is tempted to paraphrase what Tilton said of Beecher: "I do not believe in total depravity, but Rudyard Kipling's case shakes my faith."

An Anti-Imperialist.

Paris, January, 1901.

MR. RUDYARD KIPLING

That Sale of Chinese Girls.

To the Editor of the Herald:

If the report in the French papers, and dated New York, February 9, is true, that five Chinese young girls were "examined and sold at public auction in the city of San Francisco, for some 2,000 dollars a-piece," then it is evident that Rudyard Kipling's works must be largely read on the "Pacific Slope"; and the history of the region could be condensed into his two lines:—

"Where there are no ten commandments, And the climate makes a thirst."

AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST.

Paris, February 18, 1901.

Some Points on Human Nature.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mrs. Gallup, Mrs. Eddy and Rudyard Kipling—all three exotics—seem to have reduced the "Islanders" to a state of "nervous prostration," which is fast degenerating into hysteria, for now the *Times* refers to the British uniform as a door mat.

England's Apostle of murder and lust has always held that man was only a throat-cutting

MR. RUDYARD KIPLING

animal and that all women were natural candidates for the sisterhood described by the Congress, soon to meet, as "white slavery."

But Voltaire claims that human nature is different in England from what it is elsewhere; and as a proof of this is the fact, that when, some years ago, the Prince of Wales visited Aldershot, an isolated hospital for special "camp" diseases had in large letters over the door: Welcome.

If Junius were alive he would probably "approach" the King, before his coronation, and tell him: "Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem."

AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST.

Paris, January, 1902.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald's* parti-pris to prevent Americans from discussing the Boer war in its columns is in strange contrast with Lord Coleridge's reference in the House of Lords to that precursor of modern British methods, the immortal Jeffreys.

Lord Coleridge probably knows, with all the world, that one of the squad that fired on Scheepers

MR. RUDYARD KIPLING

was so affected by the sight of the emaciated invalid that he—vomited.

The London *Times* "boiled with indignation" over the Dreyfus affair, but its Paris correspondent, whose "heart beat so violently" at the Rennes trial that it had to be put under pressure, is now discussing—the "scrutin de liste"; although the debate in the House of Lords shows that Dreyfus affairs are going on every day all over South Africa.

It is evident that England is fast substituting Rudyard Kipling for John Hampden as the director of its political conscience.

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Paris, March, 1902.

MR. MORETON FREWEN AND BIMETALLISM.

From the Herald.

Mr. Bryan Could Not Do It.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I have read with interest the queries you address to Mr. Bryan as to his silver policy if elected.

Mr. Bryan might as well have replied that he could not pay the obligations of the public debt in silver, or redeem greenbacks or the legal tenders of 1890 in silver dollars, for the reason that he would have no dollars (at least no considerable number of dollars) to pay out.

It would be unfortunate if the *Herald's* questions were to alarm a community most sensitive, and I might add most ignorant, where questions of currency are concerned, so that the idea might get about that Mr. Bryan or any other could unload vast sums in silver dollars.

Moreton Frewen.

Hotel Ritz, Paris, September 2, 1900.

Read This, Mr. Frewen.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. Moreton Frewen has been such a painstaking bimetallist that silence could have continued its tribute to his sincerity had he not, in a letter to the *Herald*, been bold enough to classify Americans as "a community—most ignorant, where questions of currency are concerned."

How astonished Burke would have been at the ease with which an indictment has been framed against a whole people!

But it is possible that Mr. Frewen will not consider his own authority unduly diminished, if one quotes that of the equally great Montesquieu: "Il n'y a personne qui ne sache que l'or et l'argent ne sont qu'une richesse de fiction ou de signe. Comme ces signes sont très durables et se détruisent peu comme il convient à leur nature, il arrive que plus ils se multiplient plus ils perdent de leur prix, parce qu'ils représentent moins de chose."*

Brittany, September 5, 1900.

^{*} Opuscule sur La Monarchie Universelle.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

Christian Scientists.

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Truth" asserts that Mrs. Eddy, "the prophetess, has had a tooth out under anæsthetics," and adds: "It really is an amazing thing that . . . hundreds of apparently intelligent women, and not a few men, should surrender themselves to this unadulterated bosh."

"Truth" forgets that Christian Scientists do not claim to be universal "healers."

Снісот.

Paris, February 5, 1901.

From the Herald.

Christian Science.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Referring to Chicot's remarks concerning the criticisms on Mrs. Eddy's taking anæsthetics, I would say that I know many so-called "Christian

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Scientists," and to be "universal healers" is exactly what they do claim. They assert that there is no such thing as matter, nor sickness, nor pain, and to cure a complaint or appease pain repeat the formula "There is no life or intelligence in matter." They do profess to cure carbuncles, cancer, paralysis, &c., without medicines, by simple "demonstration." One member of the Paris association asserts that the death of one of its members was a "moral murder" caused by the combined unfavorable thoughts of other members.

ANTI-EDDY.

Paris, February 18, 1901.

"Chicot" Makes an Apologetic Plea for the "Healers"—Intellectual Cloudbursts,

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Anti-Eddy" is too hard on the "healers." Does he not see that they are a moral force, if a negative one, in breaking up the tyranny of a religious past? Besides, "Blackwood's" says they do not claim to cure corns. Why does not the Herald enlarge the letter column? It is the only outlet for the intellectual cloudbursts of "bored" Americans in Europe. Fill it with fighting. The

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

world is overpopulated, especially in "British Colonels," who seem to be everywhere except in South Africa. Perhaps some of them belong to the "home guard," that never left home unless the enemy arrived.

Chicot.

Paris, March 8, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Will the *Herald* kindly publish this. For, to give the extract from your issue of to-day: "If it appears in the *Herald* it will be heard—in faint but still distinct echoes—centuries hence when many, if not all of the beings called kings and queens have passed into the irrevocable past."

But your friend the *Matin*, of this morning, states that you are afflicted with the "microbe" of megalomania which it politely calls "mal d'orgueil." C'est le revers de la médaille.

However, a *Herald* interviewer, even after visits to the Courts of Queen Wilhelmine and the King of Servia, knows little of the most secret and the most sacred of "the confidences of man and wife" if he has not seen the French play, "La Passerelle".

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

The German Emperor should not interfere with "Eddyism"—"none are all evil," said Lord Byron—and should remember that "Christian Science" is practically helping to illustrate the truth—that imagination is the framework of religion. Un clou chasse l'autre.

Besides, persecution may have the same effect upon the "American craze" that water has upon blazing petroleum, viz.—Spread it.

As to the victims of what the Daily Mail calls "nonsense," a "swindle" and "a roaring trade," the Kaiser should not ignore Goethe's dictum: Gods and men fight in vain against stupidity.

Zoile.

Paris, February, 1902.

Politics and Religion.

To the Herald:

Archbishop's Ireland's advice to harness statemanship to the car of religion is a vain attempt to make men return to

Una superstitio superis quæ reddita divis.

For all the world has ready in Lecky: "That its (Christianity) teachers should stamp their influence on every page of legislation and direct the whole course of civilization for a thousand years and yet that the period in which they were so supreme should have been one of the most contemptible in history."

It is a puling effort that Americans make to atone for the omission of any divinity in the Constitution by putting "In God we trust" on the silver dollar, worth some forty cents though marked one hundred. Perhaps it is a tacit ad-

mission of the ways of their Congress that leads them to follow Sancho Panza's idea: "It is better to trust God than each other."

NUMISMATIST.

Paris, 1899.

Extracts from the Herald.

"Big Incomes."

John D.	Ro	ckefel	ler,	*	per	an	l.			3	0,0	00	,000	O
Emperor	of	Aust	ria		• 1						*	٠.	*	
Emperor	of	Russ	ia			¥								
Emperor	of	Gern	nan	y								w.		
Queen V	icto	ria		9				8	4			9.1		9

From the Herald.

Apropos of M. Boni de Castellane's affairs:

"There is a certain pride running through the Gould family &c."

* Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., lecturing on "Business," (Febry. 1902) asserted that "honesty, perseverance and industry are the requisites for obtaining commercial grandeur." Mr. Rockefeller did not state the part that "rebates" could contribute. Iago (Othello, Act. III, Sc. III.) also harps upon honesty. The writer once heard a famous gambler say that if he thought he had a drop of honest blood in his veins he would open one and let it out. As the gambler was also an ex-pugilist of renown the writer did not contradict him.

This Is too Easy-Ask Another.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Will the *Herald* answer the following questions?

Why doesn't the *Herald* send a completely desiccated old fossil back to her native city to try and stop ballot-box stuffing?

Why does the *Herald* forbid "personalities" in its letter column and yet state that certain people have "running pride," although unpretentious folk are mostly afflicted with galloping consumption?

Why does the *Herald* publish the huge incomes of those unfortunate beings described by Izaak Walton as "people condemned to be rich"?

When will English music halls begin to resound with the shouts of warriors, back from the destruction of a misguided but wretched peasantry?

Why does Mr. Roosevelt say "that the American flag must never come down", when it is a well-known fact that the walls of every place of debauch in Manila have been covered with it by a drunken soldiery?

Why should France, as shown by the glorious vote in the Chamber, be the only country in the world brave enough to fight against priestcraft?

Will Paris horses ever be better treated?

How long was it before Plimsoll was able to prevent honorable English merchants from sending rotten ships to sea, filled with crews meant to be drowned?

What is a fellow to do, who is in Paris without any money and who has "done" all the churches, after he has read his daily *Herald*?

Will the Herald publish this?

QUERIST.

Paris, November 10, 1900.

"A Traveling Salesman" Expresses His Opinion that Corridor Cars Cause Colds.

To the Editor of the Herald:

In the name of humanity, won't the Herald use its wide-spread influence to prevent the European adoption of the corridor car? Alexandre Dumas fils claims that a cold in the head is the distinctive characteristic of a German, but though the American catarrhal twang comes mostly from the fact that Puritan piety has its "seat and centre" in the nose, and not in the heart, yet statistics must show that, against one or two murders, there are thousands of fatal cases of pneumonia

due to what may be called a United States patent for influenza-breeding.

The danger to health from a corridor car, often heated to over 90deg. Fahr. (over 32deg. Cent. O. P. L.) with no possible ventilation; a cold blast driving through when the end doors are opened; nodding heads in every direction, so conducive to sea-sickness, the thought of all this disturbs the sleep of

A TRAVELING SALESMAN.

Paris, January 23, 1901.

The "Thunderer" Making Breaks Again.

To the Editor of the Herald:

A few weeks ago the London Times described Jefferson as a "demagogue" and, to illustrate further its profound knowledge of American affairs, it now promotes General Chaffee to be an "admiral." That Englishman must have been a "leader writer" on the Times who said: "I don't understand your War of Secession. Why didn't the Northerners build a wall across the Isthmus of Panama so that the Southerners couldn't get at 'em?"

A JEFFERSONIAN.

Paris, August 11, 1900.

A Step Towards Free Trade.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Mr. Babcock's bill is the first blow at that "inhuman system of protection" which has enriched monopolists, who have hitherto scorned "free trade," except through the divorce court. And soon it will be impossible to say of the United States: Le gouvernement est canaille et le peuple est bête.

FREE TRADER.

Paris, February 13, 1901.

Paper Money Inflation.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The *Herald's* courageous New York article on Congressional extravagance is in line with what Lecky wrote: that increase of taxation is a corresponding restriction of liberty.

The present inflation by paper money in the United States can only have the result that always attends corruption in general, viz., first, a swelling of the body, and then a collapse.

The creation in six months (see "Financial Chronicle") of 3,000,000,000 in Industrials recalls one of Mr. Jay Gould's sayings: "How long," said some one to him in 1881, "can this issue

of securities continue?" "I feel reasonably certain," replied the speculative philosopher, "that I can manufacture them as long as the public will buy them."

URSA MAJOR.

Paris, August 8, 1899.

From the Herald.

A Profound Student's Philosophy.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Being somewhat of a profound student I am naturally attentive to things which appear to have no relation to anything at all. I am therefore constrained to beg that you ask "Sociology" why "France is like the lioness, who, reproached with having only one offspring, replied, 'Yes, but a lion'"; and why, in view of the national emblem the true French patriot should not rather glory in his son, the little rooster.

E. L. F.

Concarneau, February 8, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

It is not necessary to enter into the scientific part of the question raised by E. L. F.: for a sufficient explanation of the way in which "the

little rooster" presents itself to his mind can be found in the phrase, un coq à l'âne.

Sociology.

Paris, Febry. 13, 1901.

Doesn't Love Lawyers.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The fact, stated by Mr. Chauncey Depew, at the lawyers' dinner in London that, "of twentyone Presidents, seventeen had been lawyers," may account for the present appalling mental, moral and political condition of the people of the United States.

Was Peter, Tsar of Russia, called the Great, because, speaking of lawyers, he said: "Why, I have only two in all my dominions, and I mean to hang one of them when I get home?"

It is to be hoped that each guest at the dinner was provided with "a long spoon."

A LITIGANT.

Paris, July 30, 1900.

"Cursory" Customs Examination.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As I am about to sail for New York will the Herald tell me if it is true that the Customs

examination there combines the two impossible conditions of being both long and "cursory?"

On my return I hope to find that "O. P. L." has had mercurial poisoning. "Foxy" you will keep to; he "makes copy," and then Americans, since the political success of Mr. Roosevelt, have no longer any sense of humor.

PEREGRINUS.

Paris, April 27, 1901.

The Face and the Heart.

To the Editor of the Herald:

A lawyer twitted Mr. Brewster, afterwards Attorney-General of the United States, because of his distorted features. Mr. Breswster quietly replied: "A boy once rushed into the flames to rescue his little sister; the girl's life was saved, but the boy came out with his face as black as that man's heart!" "Nigger" and "Miss Nosey" recall Mr. Brewester's rejoinder.

A LOUISIANA NEGRO.

Paris, October 28, 1901.

The "Point McBirney."

To the Editor of the Herald:

If one ignores Bowdler's example and "adds original matter" to Skakespeare, he can say: "Misery makes strange bedfellows, but journalism stranger."

The *Herald's* friend, the *Matin-Français*, in its attack upon the surgeons who attended President McKinley, forgets that the "point McBirney" is followed even by French practitioners.

If the *Matin* reads the *Herald*, it may be well to inform it that the most savage wit is made sharper by the addition of a little truth.

Mulio.

Paris, October 28, 1901.

From the Herald.

McBurney's "Point."

To the Editor of the Herald:

I should like for the edification of your correspondent signing himself "Mulio," to say that, like the shoemaker, he had better stick to his last.

In the first place, McBurney, the surgeon mentioned, spells his name as above written, and not

McBirney, as any one at all familiar with American surgery should know. Also, be it known, Mc Burney's "point" refers solely and entirely to the condition known as "appendicitis."

AMERICAN SURGEON.

London, October 31, 1901.

What a Pity "Mulio" Survived.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As "Mulio" had been under the knife, he knew that the "point McBurney" was only followed in appendicitis, but, more lucky than the unfortunate Mr. McKinley, he is not "familiar with American surgery."

Perhaps, after all, the *Matin* is right, and, but for the horrible expense, Czolgosz would have been executed much more quickly by putting him in the hands of an "American surgeon."

However just, no personal reference is meant by still signing, Mulio.

Paris, November 3, 1901.

Here's a Chance!

To the Editor of the Herald:

I do wish the Chantily (sic) people would settle it out among themselves. Nobody now

understands what it's all about. But if the *Herald's* got to help everyone, why not me?

I'm going to start a casino with roulette, three-card "monte," poker, &c., and I want some one to look after the morals of my card-shovers. Can't the *Herald* persuade the "S. P. G." to send me over a "locum tenens." He must bring an automatic kissing machine with him, for I allow no flirting. And on Sunday afternoons he must go to the races; I don't like squeamishness.

AN EX-GAMBLER.

Paris, December 3, 1901.

From the Herald.

"Statue-Mania in France."

To the Editor of the Herald:

After many years I have made my second peregrination through the chief provincial towns and capital of France. What has most astonished me is to find so many statues erected to persons hardly known in their native provincial towns, and many are raised in Paris to individuals who are unknown to fame outside the periphery of the capital.

The statues of Jeanne d'Arc have increased enormously. It is a lucky thing for sculptors

that in 1412 the various phases of hysterics were not known, and the soothing properties of bromide of ammonia were not discovered. I have looked in vain to find statues to the martyrs of the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew, such as Ramus, Coligny, &c. Although the debt of Paris is over two thousand million francs, I think the municipality of the city could find funds to erect a monument to commemorate that bloody and dark page in the history of France.

HUGUENOT.

Paris, December 29, 1901.

A Monument to "Humanity."

To the Editor of the Herald:

"Huguenot" is too exacting. He will probably soon insist upon raising in the "carrefour des écrasés" a monument to "Humanity," consisting of a pyramid of Filipino skulls, and on the apex a statue of the Puritan, holding with one hand the skeleton of a burned "witch," and in the other hand a copy of "Lynch Law."

UN PRATIQUANT.

Paris, December 31, 1901.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The "Courtesy of the Port" is an order given to a Customs House underling to pass "P. d. q." anything belonging to a high-toned protectionist who would not play false but yet would wrongly win.

The common protectionist merely puts his office address in the top tray, and the Custom House officer calls next day for his tip.

A FREQUENT SMUGGLER.

Paris, 1901.

Censorious "Western Gal."

To the Editor of the Herald:

Please tell me on what plan the *Herald* is run. I have just arrived in Paris, and I find you working hard on Balkan affairs and not attending to what Juvenal calls "res angusta domi."

For I went "down town" yesterday by the Métroplitain, and first I had to go to a "guichet" to pay for my ticket—you know in America they collect fares—then my ticket was "punched," and then I tried to get into a car, but before I was half in the "sifflet" sounded and I nearly left a part of my corporeal existence—"legs" in America

are improper—outside. Then my ticket was "contrôlé."

I suppose, pretty soon, I must deposit my "certificat de naissance" with some "fonctionnaire," in case of accident.

The French, I hear, are logical. They proclaim: "Point de mariage, et numéroter les enfants!" But like your "Old Philadelphia Lady," I have an individuality, and I propose to maintain it.

The *Herald* is, as the Scotch say, "canny." It knows very well, with Sancho Panza, that: "There are two kinds of people—the Haves and the Have Nots," and it sticks to the Haves.

In other words, it is unwilling to criticize.

A WESTERN GAL.

Paris, January 31, 1902.

Brokers Get It All.

To the Editor of the Herald:

As an "Old Wall Street Man," I protest indignantly against the unwarranted aspersion contained in your heading in to-day's issue: "Robbing the Brokers."

Why, Sir, it is held by some that a pickpocket is the most intelligent of Englishmen; by

others that he is a "type of all his race"; and yet this keen-witted gentleman is bound by the inexorable law: "A l'impossible nul n'est tenu."

You forget, Sir, a certain father's test of his son. The boy was left in a room with a Bible, an apple and a dollar, to see if "natural tendency" would make him a clergyman, an agriculturist or a "financial magnate." On looking through the keyhole, the anxious parent discovers that his "hopeful" had eaten the apple, was sitting on the Bible and had pocketed the dollar. "Heavens!" he exclaimed, "I must make him a broker; he's got it all."

A SPECULATOR.

Paris, January 31, 1902.

A Would-Be Philosopher.

To the Editor of the Herald:

A philosopher called the salamalecs of Voltaire and Frederick II. planetary osculations. He would probably describe the only too evident press relations between the London *Times*, the *Herald* and the *Matin* as the fusion of triple "brass."

Cardinal Manning asserted that the *Times** articles were written by undergraduates. As a Pope "in posse" is as infallible as a Pope "in esse," and

in view of the "Sophomoric" utterances of the Times, Cardinal Manning was right.

Now the *Herald*, with a modesty peculiarly its own, dictates in two short columns the foreign policy of France and Germany, showing that "O.P.L." must write its leaders while fumbling over its thermometrical difficulties.

Lastly, the *Matin*, "ce plaisant Robin" (in American slang, "muttonhead,") of French journalism, has lately evinced such ignorance concerning the "mal de Naples" that he should receive the first "prix de rosière" given to the Paris press.

MORE ANON.

Paris, November 10, 1901.

Refused by the Herald.

To the Editor of the Herald:

The stern moralist who signs * * * * * must certainly be either a Cato or an "Auvergnat."

It is very evident from his letter that he has been long enough in Paris to contract what is commonly called paresis.

But if the first supposition is correct and he has to be "clothed" also, let him go to the tailor who advertises: Vêtements pour hommes, femmes et le sexe ecclésiastique.

Such crystallized propriety should only read the New York *Times* which announces "All that's fit to print," and yet publishes John Wanamaker's "Sunday School Lessons." For our \$\\$400,000 Postmaster-General, when he is not teaching his pupils to cheer for his Presidential candidate, makes the "finest" efforts to patronize heaven since J. Calvin and Jonathan Edwards spewed brimstone on all those who had some sense.

AN Ex-GAMBLER.

Paris, February 1, 1902.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I am not bégueule. More so, perhaps, than formerly, "Si jeunesse savait &c." I have been to see "La Passerelle."

If, as George Eliot said, "art is a mode of amplifying experience," why does so much of the "experience" on the French stage consist in a realistic rendering of the line:

One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.

Juvenal had similar qualms:

Spectent juvenes, quos clamor et audax Sponsio, quos cultæ decet assedisse puellæ. Spectent hoc nuptæ, juxta recubante marito, Quod pudeat narrasse aliquem præsentibus ipsis.

Then take pictures. One favorite subject represents naked females lying about on grass, near water &c. This again is not "art." For if the scene is in northern climates, the pretty creatures would certainly catch grip or inflammatory rheumatism. And in the tropics, if the water were still, they would be blistered by leeches; if the water were running, they would be paralyzed by electric eels. Can your Art Critic enlighten us.

A WESTERN GAL.

Paris, February 6, 1902.

To the Editor of the Herald:

To avoid social heart-burnings why doesn't the *Herald* arrange to have King Edward's coronation take place in Washington?

I know several New York men who would be perfectly willing to lend their private cars for the "trip on."

And the rules of the road are simple: In crossing New Jersey, no profane language; it is punishable with fine and imprisonment. A stop at Trenton to register—fees in advance—fraudulent companies. Must not drink water in Philadelphia. It is supplied by the authorities; and yet the city

is only saturated with appendicitis, typhoid fever, small-pox and Republicanism. Stop here to visit spot where Mr. Roosevelt made the immortal declaration: A defeat of our party will be a moral disgrace.

In Washington, His Majesty will be presented to all the Members of Congress. Must not call on any one of them more than once.

By kind permission of the "once dismissed Amsterdam diamond polisher," now dictating British policy, no American woman present at the ceremony is required to have more than one diamond set in her front teeth.

Thomas Rot.

Hotel Grumble-but-Pay. Paris, February 2.

Some English History.

To the Editor of the Herald:

No wonder Englishmen are partly "Danes", for like old Mrs. Hamlet they protest too much and with "mindless eyes and ears" forget their own history. To wit: The starvation of India, in 1765, through government monopoly of food (vide Campbell); The American massacres, in 1776—83, (vide Chatham); The order given to Admiral de Saumarez, in 1802, "Kill and Destroy".

England made her national hero of one who had hanged a patriot to his yard-arm and who left Lady Hamilton as a "legacy" to the country which boasts of its purity.

She forced opium on China, in 1841, and fought the Crimean war, the most colossal monument of human stupidity since the Tower of Babel.

Then 17,000 poor wretches mowed down at Omdurman, and now South Africa devastated! With ancient Romans: Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

Yet, despite Napoleon's aphorism, Spion Kop despatches show that between drunken and incompetent generals War is a trade that the English cannot follow, save in the capacity of butchers.

PEREGRINUS.

PARIS, 1902.

Congress and the Coronation.

To the Editor of the Herald:

Senator Cullum proposes to send a Congressional Committee to King Edward's Coronation.

No invitation has been given, but Senators ignore useless formalities.

As our Congressmen are noted for their courtesy to other nations, the Committee would probably bring a "plaque" to "fix" on the "House" of Commons, giving the pleasing information: Westward the Star of Empire takes its way.

As the Committee would undoubtedly visit St. George's chapel, where banners "flout the sky", they could cover up these "evidences of decrepitude" with bright, new pasters in order to distinguish the various sub-committees: "Sugar Trust", "Star Routes", "The Lobby", "Pension List", "Burn these Letters", &c.

Please publish this if it does not interfere with "plastered bonds".

PARIS, 1901.

Taking a Hampden Attitude.

To the Editor of the Herald:

One word may be added to the *Herald's* admirable "Cartwright" leader, viz., a new version of an old grind: England is called an Englishman's home. The wind may whistle around it, the rain can enter it but—Cartwright cannot.

The declarations in the House of Commons of Mr. Brodrick, Mr. Balfour and the Attorney-

General recall Lord Westbury's saying: I never knew a Minister that had a mind.

John Hampden's name has always been approached with respect, it remained for the "Birmingham" trumpet to turn it into an adjective.

In the "elegant" diction then of the *Times*, I take a "Hampden attitude" and sign

A "MUDDLE-HEADED" PERSON.

- - 1 project many

Paris, April 28, 1902.

To the Patient Reader:

The London *Times* which once described the United States frigate, "Constitution", (perhaps better known to Englishmen in connection with their former ships, "La Guerrière," "Java" &c. &c.) as "a bundle of pine boards drifting under a gridiron flag"* will without doubt "inwardly digest" this book and pronounce it "scurrilous vituperation."

Certainly, the book is a poor one, but my "ain." No one will dispute me that. And in view of the Protection propensities of my countrymen, stimulated by Congressional honesty, I shall not copyright it.

^{*} Cooper's Naval History of the United States. Also Maclay's.

I do not expect a niche in the "Hall of Fame" with those incubators of Empires, Blaine and Chamberlain, and where, to mix French and English, the Americans se feront des niches, in placing each other; for, if my book is read, I shall be lynched in America, hanged in England and guillotined in France; all very unpleasant since, to quote Molière's valet, when one dies it is for such a terribly long time. But as that Tory document, the Church catechism, tells us "to honor and obey the civil authority," I submit to the command of that ultima ratio of American political life, the present President of the United States, and "tremble on the brink of doom."

That part of humanity toiling under the harrow of taxation and misgovernment cries out in stronger tones: "Strike one blow in our defence."

An Internationalist.

Paris, February, 1902.

TO DEMOCRATS.

Now that the Boer and Philippine Wars have revealed more clearly than ever the mortal character of the fight between the principle of Authority, as defended by the Anglo-Saxon, and the Rights of Man, as asserted through the French Revolution, we. Democrats, have only to remember with Rousseau: La liberté n'est dans aucune forme de gouvernement, elle est dans le cœur de l'homme libre. And although War is the argument of the brute, yet the times make necessary the present application of an order given by Commodore Preble under the following circumstances: "-When upon a very dark evening with very light winds, we suddenly found ourselves near a vessel which was evidently a ship of war. The crew were immediately but silently brought to quarters, after which the Commodore gave the usual hail, 'What ship is that'; The same question was returned; in reply to which the name of our ship was given and the question repeated. Again the question

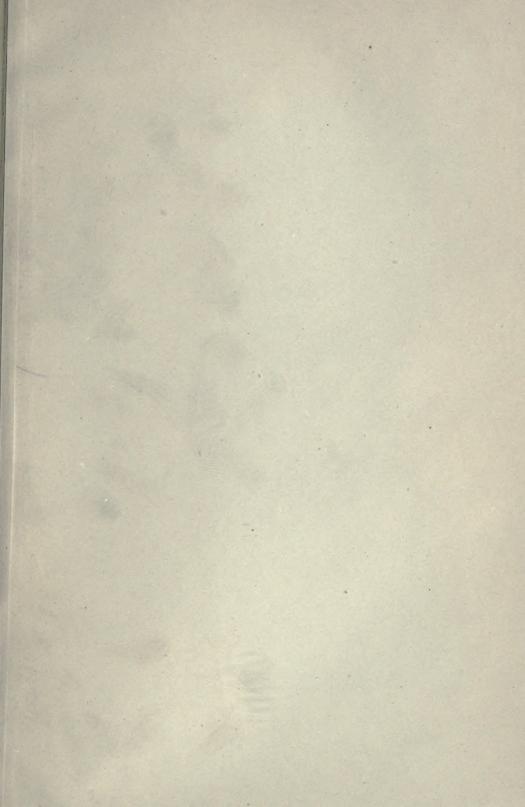
TO DEMOCRATS

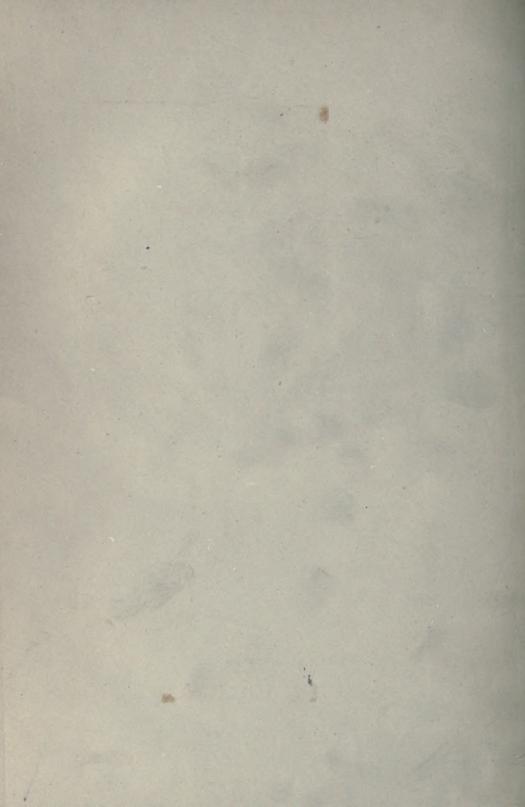
was returned instead of an answer, and again our ship's name given and the question repeated, without other reply, than its repetition. The Commodore's patience seemed now exhausted, and taking the trumpet, he hailed and said, 'I am now going to hail you for the last time. If a proper answer is not returned, I will fire a shot into you'. A prompt answer came back. you fire a shot, I will return a broadside'. Preble then hailed, 'What ship is that?' The reply was, 'This is His Britannic Majesty's ship Donegal, eighty four guns, Sir Richard Strahan, an English Commodore. Send your boat on board'. Under the excitement of the moment, Preble leaped on the hammocks and returned for answer, 'This is the United States ship Constitution, forty four guns, Edward Preble, an American Commodore, who will be damned before he sends his boat on board of any vessel'. And, turning to his crew, he said, 'Blow your matches, boys'."

(Autobiography of Com. Morris. From Proceedings, U. S. Naval Institute, No. 12, Vol. VI.)



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